Daily Report

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'Secret' Decree May Reopen Nuclear Test Site

MK2403144192 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 24 Mar 92 p 6

[Yuriy Meshkov report under the "Environment" rubric: "Will the Nuclear Test Site Start Operating? Another Decree Has Been Signed About Tests in Novaya Zemlya"]

[Text] President Yeltsin has resolved to transform the USSR Defense Ministry's Sixth State Central Test Site into the Russian Federation's Central Test Site by bringing this test site under Russia's federal ownership.

Under Decree No. 194, the Russian Ministry for Nuclear Energy and the CIS Joint Armed Forces High Command have been instructed to continue in 1992 the necessary work involved in preparing tunnels and wells for conducting underground nuclear tests on Novaya Zemlya at a rate of two to four explosions per year (if the declared moratorium expires).

The deadline for the Russian moratorium on nuclear testing expires, as is well known, in October 1992.

In northern Russia members of the people's movement for environmental safety "Toward a New Earth" ["K Novoy Zemlye"] have protested the secret presidential decree No. 194.

Meanwhile, the Russian nuclear moratorium has inspired the international environmental organization Greenpeace to stage a protest action in French Polynesia near Mururoa atoll and demand that the French Government join the Russian moratorium. In mid-March the flagship of the Greenpeace fleet, Rainbow Warrior, arrived at the island of Tahiti. The international crew members include scientists, independent experts, and journalists from various countries (a NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA correspondent is due to join the international crew of the Rainbow Warrior 19 March).

Norway Concerned

LD2403145192 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 2100 GMT 23 Mar 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The Norwegian Government is worried by the possibility of resumption of nuclear tests on the Novaya Zemlya archipelago. Such a possibility was printed in the Norwegian press in connection with the decree by Russian President Yeltsin giving federal status to Novaya Zemlya and on the arrangements regarding relations with the military.

The Norwegian Foreign Ministry has asked its ambassador in Moscow to try to clear up all the circumstances of the rumors regarding Novaya Zemlya. The reassurances of Russian spokesmen do not yet seem to be having much effect on the Norwegians.

Belarus Reaffirms Position on Nuclear Weapons

PM2703083492 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 Mar 92 p 3

[Untitled report from own information, ITAR-TASS roundup under the general heading "Panorama of Foreign Military News"]

[Text] Belarussian Supreme Soviet Chairman S. Shushkevich emphasized in an interview with the Finnish newspaper HELSINGIN SANOMAT that the republic is planning to transfer military plants to civilian production, and is interested in developing cooperation in this sector with Finnish firms. He absolutely refuted all pronouncements about the retention of nuclear weapons on Belarussian territory, stating that the "Finnish model is more attractive than the position of a great power, based on the possession of nuclear weapons."

Russian Official on Disarmement Conference

LD2703092192 Moscow TASS in English 0854 GMT 27 Mar 92

[Report by ITAR-TASS correspondent Boris Shabayev]

[Text] Geneva March 27 TASS—The first lap of the 1992 Disarmament Conference session is to end here today. Its completion marks the 30th anniversary of the 18-nation committee's first meeting at the Geneva Palace of Nations, from which the conference's history is known to begin. The name and composition of this important body, charged with drawing up international legal documents for practically the entire package of disarmament problems, have changed, as we all know, along with circumstances directly affecting its work.

Head of the Russian delegation to the Disarmament Conference Ambassador Sergey Batsanov told ITAR-TASS in this connection about the main results and prospects of the conference's work.

"The conference has several important disarmament treaties and agreements to its credit," he stated. "They include the 1963 Moscow Treaty to ban nuclear weapon tests in the three mediums. Particularly noteworthy is the 1968 treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons—one of the mainstays of the entire system of international security. The treaty played this role even during the Soviet-American confrontation and will doubtlessly play it in the future, too.

"We all know the present day importance of the nonproliferation problem in light of the latest cardinal changes on the international arena," Batsanov said.

"The conference's dropping 'productivity,' observed since the beginning of the 1980's, can be explained both by the international situation of that period, particularly the aggravation of Soviet-American relations, and the simultaneous inclusion in the negotiation process of a large number of new participants, all with their specific interests, which had to be taken into account and

reduced to one common denominator. The number of fully fledged parties to the conference had by then increased to 40 countries. The art of finding appropriate compromises, which would not affect the essence of a discussed problem, cannot be acquired overnight. Several interesting proposals were tabled at the current session, including the Austrian draft convention, work on which will undoubtedly bring us closer to our goal," Batsanov noted. "The mechanism of multilateral negotiations," he continued, "has been set really going only during the recent few years.

"Today, there are more countries with observer's status at the conference than fully fledged members, the number of which dropped to 39 after Germany's reunification. This testifies to the conference's growing authority and policial attractiveness as a body discussing problems of global military security. Hence, the desire to contribute in this or another way to the practical discussion of important problems and to the drafting of corresponding treaties and agreements. I believe that, given the already set mechanism of multilateral negotiations, there are no reasons to check this urge: Everybody who really wants to take part in the negotiations, should be given this opportunity without any reservations."

Nuclear Issues

Further on Reaction to Nuclear Station Accident

Plant Shutdown Urged

LD2603181892 Stockholm Sveriges Radio Network in Swedish 1700 GMT 26 Mar 92

[Text] The Russian nuclear power station in Sosnovyy Bor has been leaking radioactivity for 20 months, Estonian nuclear power experts maintain, and Estonia presented a protest note to the Russian Embassy in Helsinki today.

[Correspondent Christina Gustafsson] Following the nuclear power accident in Sosnovyy Bor on 24 March, when radioactivity was released into the atmosphere, Estonian scientists have examined the monitoring equipment deployed all the way between the Russian border and Tallinn, the Estonian capital. In these monitoring instruments are radioactive discharges that have been registered continuously for the past 20 months. This was stated by Estonian Foreign Minister Lennart Meri at a news conference here in Helsinki a little while ago.

This afternoon the Estonian delegation to the current CSCE conference in Helsinki handed in a note to the Russian Embassy, protesting that the Russian authorities did not even with a single word inform Estonia about the accident, despite the fact that the foreign minister requested such information as early as Tuesday. Estonia now demands that the nuclear power station in Sosnovyy Bor be closed down completely.

If the information given by the Estonian scientists is correct, it means that the nuclear power station has been leaking for almost two years, at least. At one of the Finnish monitoring stations, increased levels of radioactivity were noted as early as the weekend. The accident, in which part of the reactor core was damaged and radioactivity leaked into the atmosphere, did not occur until the night of 24 March.

Finnish Foreign Minister Paavo Vaeyrynen also appealed today for international aid to start shutting down the Russian nuclear power stations, which he described as a serious risk to the Baltic states. This is Christina Gustafsson in Helsinki.

Reactor Shutdown Not Planned

LD2603181792 Moscow TASS in English 1748 GMT 26 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyubov Dunayeva]

[Text] Moscow March 26 TASS—The leaking reactor of the nuclear power plant in Sosnovy Bor near St. Petersburg will not be shut down, Sergey Krylov, spokesman for the Russian Ministry of Nuclear Power Engineering, said Thursday [26 March].

He said there are no reasons to shut down the reactor, adding that it will be stopped only for several weeks for repairs.

The incident measured two points on the international scale devised by the International Atomic Energy Agency to measure nuclear events.

A level two incident indicates technical problems which do not immediately affect plant safety but require safety improvements.

Lack of Spare Parts Cited

LD2703095392 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0600 GMT 27 Mar 92

[Text] Yevgeniy Adamov, a engineer who designs Russian nuclear power stations, said yesterday that AES technology is sufficiently modern, and the remaining stations should not be closed. However, Yevgeniy Adamov stressed that the lack of funds for the purchase of spare parts for annual technical servicing was the reason why the reactor at the Leningradskaya AES had been in continuous operation for 18 months.

Reactors of the same type as at the Chernobyl AES are also installed at the Kursk nuclear power station. According to its chief engineer, Vyacheslav Ryakhin, there were serious shortcomings in the construction of the reactors at the Kursk AES. However, substantial changes have been made to the control and protection system, which has enhanced reliability. Accidents on the scale of Chernobyl could not happen again, Vyacheslav Ryakhin said.

Latvia Requests Information

LD2603231392 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 2100 GMT 26 Mar 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The Latvian Council of Ministers has sent a message to Russian Vice President Gaydar and St. Petersburg Mayor Sobchak, asking them for detailed information about the accident at the Leningrad nuclear power station. Latvian representatives may be watching our bulletin right now, and they evidently will be able to find certain answers to their questions. A news conference was held at the Russian Federation's Ministry of Atomic Energy today on the subject of the situation at the Leningrad nuclear power station.

[Correspondent M. Rumyantseva] Today's news conference opened with Yevgeniy Ignatenko, chief of the ministry's information directorate, showing journalists the control point where all data about the functioning and condition of nuclear power stations on the territory of the CIS arrives. When necessary, a special group called Opas convenes here. It gives urgent back-up to nuclear power stations. Aside from nuclear experts, it includes representatives of such bodies as the public health department and the civil defense service. It is here at the control point that at 0249 on 24 March—2 minutes after the accident—information about the incident arrived. Ministry representatives went on to give details of the state of the faulty unit where on 24 March there was a failure of the airtightness of a technical channel; at the present time preparations are under way to replace it. According to data from the Ministry of Atomic Energy and the Russian State Hydrometeorology Committee, as of 26 March the radiation levels at the nuclear power station and centers of population in Leningrad Oblast have not exceeded permissible norms. The ministry does not at the moment have any details about measurements by any other foreign or international bodies. Asked whether there had been any deaths or injuries in the course of eliminating the consequences of the accident, Yevgeniy Ignatenko replied in the negative.

Radiation Levels Detailed

PM2703115192 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 27 Mar 92 First Edition p 1

[ITAR-TASS report: "On Incident at Leningrad Nuclear Electric Power Station"]

[Text] As a previous issue of ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA has already reported, on 24 March an incident occurred at the Leningrad AES [nuclear electric power station]. Today the editorial office reports the details on the basis of information from the Russian State Committee for the Supervision of Safe Working Practices in the Atomic Power Industry and the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic President's State Committee for Civil Defense, Emergency Situations, and the Elimination of the Consequences of Natural Disasters. S. Shoygu, the committee's chairman, has sent an official report to ITAR-TASS. It says in particular:

"According to preliminary assessments, the event is categorized as a radiation accident of medium gravity (with a rating of three on the seven-point International Atomic Energy Agency scale).

"The discharge of radioactive inert gases into the atmosphere consisted of the following:

"at the time of the accident—a rate of 6,000 curies per day;

"two hours later—a rate of 3,000 curies per day;

"by 0800 hours on 24 March 1992 it was 92-800 curies per day;

"by 1430 hours on 24 March 1992 it was 92-319 curies per day (it was stabilizing).

"The maximum permitted discharge from the AES's four units is 2,000 curies per day.

"In all the volume of discharge during the accident is assessed at below the daily discharge for the four units.

"According to the measurement by 0800 in the AES health safety zone the radiation level complied with health norms.

"According to figures from the radiological institute the radiation monitoring stations in the cities of Sosnovyy Bor and Zelenogorsk did not record any above-background radiation.

"According to the petroleum geology association reports, the mobile radiation monitoring team on the St. Petersburg-Zelenogorsk route did not detect heightened radiation levels.

"According to information from the Russian Ministry of Atomic Power:

"measurements of samples in the soil, water, and air, recorded only background levels of iodine and caesium;

"the figures for the circuit water are normal, which attests that the fuel assembly has not been damaged;

"the forecast for emission for the immediate future is favorable, below the maximum permitted level, except for iodine, where a brief fourfold increase is predicted. Additional measures are being taken to bring iodine emissions back to normal.

"The situation is under control and communication is being maintained with the regional organs of the Russian State Committee for Emergency Situations and the competent organs of the Russian Ministry of the Atomic Power Industry and the Russian State Committee for the Supervision of Safe Working Practices in the atomic Power Industry.

"An analysis of the radiation situation which has taken shape shows that the adoption of special protective measures for the population of Sosnovyy Bor is not required."

Japanese Aid for Nuclear Safety Measures Noted

PM2703115392 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 2

[S. Agafonov report under the general heading "Leningrad AES: IAEA, International Atomic Energy Agency, Inspection and Help Required"]

[Text] Tokyo—The latest accident at a CIS nuclear installation—namely, the Leningrad AES [nuclear electric power station]—has caused worldwide alarm and concern, not least in Japan.

Following meticulous investigation into all the details of the radiation leak in Sosnovyy Bor, the Japanese Government yesterday decided to allocate 75 million yen (around $600,000) in emergency financial aid in order to help Russia investigate the reasons behind the nuclear "faults." This was reported from Tokyo by IZVESTIYA's own correspondent S. Agafonov.

The Japanese aid will be channeled not to our departments but to the IAEA [International Atomic Energy Agency], which is currently elaborating a special program of preventive measures to avert incidents at former Soviet AES' built along the lines of the Chernobyl station. There are 16 such installations on CIS territory, and the IAEA envisages carrying out a detailed inspection of all these reactors, as well as an analysis of the shortcomings in the design of the system itself.

The cabinet decision has been met with approval in Japan, but there have also been reactions showing concern, which boil down to the fact that the former Union's neglected nuclear economy could swallow up the entire contents of the special fund.

Brussels Launch of Research Center Reported

PM2403120592 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 6

[Yuriy Kovalenko report: "CIS Nuclear Scientists Will Find Work in Their Own Country; International Center for Science and Technology To Be Opened in Moscow"]

[Text] Paris—At a meeting in Brussels, the European Community, the United States, Russia, and Japan adopted a decision to open an International Center for Science and Technology (ICST) in Moscow. It is planned that scientists and engineers from the former Soviet Union specializing in weapons of mass destruction—nuclear, chemical, and biological—will work at the center.

The West believes that this will prevent a "brain drain" from the country.

After the official signing of the agreement, the ICST, which will be open to all countries, will begin work in summer 1992. Observers stress that its success depends to a considerable extent on the amount of credits and subsidies made available. The United States and European Community will each contribute 25 million dollars to the ICST's fund. Japan has also promised to take part in financing the project, although it has yet to name a figure.

For its part, Russia will make available the research institute at Troitsk, not far from Moscow. Moreover, branches of the ICST will open in other CIS countries. They will be directed by an administrative council incorporating representatives of the main donor countries. There will be a management committee subordinate to it, responsible for selecting projects and monitoring their progress.

The framework of the ICST's activity has still to be fully outlined. Addressing the ceremony in Brussels dedicated to the opening of the ICST in Moscow, U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker stressed that one of the center's priorities will be the problem of the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons. Consequently, the ICST will have the task of preventing nuclear scientists from going to countries which would like to have their own nuclear weapons. The ICST will also be in charge of various experimental projects connected with the conversion of the defense industry.

During a recent meeting of the European Community, German Foreign Minister H.-D. Genscher—whose idea it was to create the ICST—circulated among his colleagues lists of CIS scientists engaged in the defense industry who have received offers of work abroad. According to U.S. estimates, 3-5,000 of our scientists engaged in the development of weapons of mass destruction could be involved in the ICST's work.

At the same time, the newspaper LE MONDE stresses, it is obvious that the center could become a place for recruiting the best CIS specialists to work in the West. For its part, according to the Paris press, China has already announced its intention to invite Russian scientists and acquire Soviet technology.

Finally, at a meeting in Paris, ministers from the 24 OECD member states adopted a decision to help Russia and other East European countries to retain their scientific potential. Backed by a number of other states, France has proposed setting up a "special fund" or "agency" to help CIS scientists by subsidising their research programs.

The OECD will also discuss the question of allocating resources to complete major projects begun in CIS countries: to build a new, powerful telescope, particle accelerator, and so forth.

Cuba To Get Help on Nuclear Power Plant

OW2503214192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1519 GMT 25 Mar 92

[Report by M. Mayorov and I. Porshnev from "Diplomatic Panorama"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russia will take part in the efforts to conclude the construction of Cuba's nuclear-power plant in Jaragua. The construction was launched by the former USSR. However it was actually suspended late last year because of a lack of clarity as to its financing.

At the talks with a Cuban delegation led by Enrique Melendez, chairman of the state committee on external economic relations, held in Moscow recently Russia said it would be willing to take part in the efforts to conclude the plant's construction if Cuba agreed to shoulder the hard-currency expenses connected with the project. Russian officials suggested that Cuba should use its own resources to buy an automatic system for monitoring the technological process at the plant from Germany or Italy. They also raised the issue of Cuba's repaying loans received from the former USSR for the construction of the nuclear-power plant and for other joint projects.

As DP's [Diplomatic Panorama] correspondent learned from Yevgeniy Reshetnikov, deputy minister of Nuclear Power Engineering, since Cuba accepted Russia's terms, "the corresponding decision was worked out and agreed upon." A group of experts from his ministry is already working in Cuba. Reshetnikov himself will fly to Havana on Saturday [28 March] to conclude discussions on a new agreement relating to the nuclear-power plant.

Nuclear Research Center Faces Financial Problems

LD2403185892 Moscow TASS in English 1155 GMT 24 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Nikolay Milov]

[Text] Ulyanovsk March 24 TASS—The nuclear research institute situated in the Russian city of Dimitrovgrad on the Volga is facing considerable financial difficulties and its existence is being called into question.

A scientific simposyum on exploitation of water-cooled reactors, scheduled for May at the Dimitrovgrad research centre under the IAEA [International Atomic Energy Agency] auspices, is in jeopardy, although 70 nuclear experts from Europe, America, Asia and 80 experts from CIS states have confirmed their plans to attend it.

According to institute director, Valentin Ivanov, it was transferred under the jurisdiction of the Russian Federation last December. It is a paradox but the institute no longer receives state subsidies and has no funds of its own to conduct research, to say nothing of paying wages even to a fire brigade members. And all of this while the institute's nuclear reactors are operational.

The institute is quite able to support itself, filling the orders from foreign firms for nuclear research and deliveries of nuclear high-grade fuel. However, the institute's hard currency account in the Russian Foreign Economic Bank has been frozen, which means that the Volga Research Nuclear Centre, a unique institute in Russia and Europe, created 35 years ago by academician Igor Kurchatov, has been brought to the verge of insolvency and is contemplating self-dissolution, Ivanov pointed out.

Statement Issued on Submarine Intrusion

PM2703105592 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 27 Mar 92 p 3

[CIS Joint Armed Forces Press Center statement: "Incident in Kola Gulf"]

[Text] At 0905 hours on 25 March the Northern Fleet destroyers Gremyashchiy and Rastoropnyy spotted a submerged foreign submarine at the entrance to the Kola Gulf. There were no CIS Navy submarines in the area. The foreign submarine was observed for an hour inside Russian territorial waters, the extent of which is determined by Russian legislation and is well known to seafarers. The Northern Fleet ships spent an hour using prearranged signals to try to get the unknown submarine to surface, but it, discovering that it was under surveillance, left Russian territorial waters in submerged mode by the quickest route at a speed of 12 knots (around 22 km per hour).

The submarine repeatedly used hydroacoustic interference instruments in an effort to lose the ships that were tracking it. The unknown submarine's movements were monitored for several hours by various duty antisubmarine warfare components of the Northern Fleet. From an analysis of its movements it may be concluded that the unidentified submarine was a nuclear one.

Rear Admiral Comments

LD2603204992 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1850 GMT 26 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS military affairs observer Andrey Naryshkin]

[Text] Moscow, 26 Mar (TASS)—"The foreign submarine detected by ships of the Northern Fleet on 25 March at the entrance to Kola Bay was in Russia's territorial waters 12 nautical miles from their outer boundary." Rear Admiral Valeriy Aleksin, the CIS Navy's chief navigator, stated this in an interview with the ITAR-TASS observer today.

According to the admiral, a bearing was taken of the "alien submarine" in an area 11 miles south of the location where a CIS submarine collided with America's Baton Rouge on 11 February this year. "I cannot yet officially say whose submarine it was, but this will become clear in due course. The incident is being analyzed now at various levels; this includes listening to the recordings of hydro-acoustic sounds," the admiral said.

At the same time, Aleksin believes, it may be regarded as an established fact that the submarine was nuclear-powered, because a diesel submarine cannot maintain a cruising speed of 12 knots in a submerged state for more than three hours. The submarine deliberately entered Russia's waters. One cannot make such a serious error in sailing in this area without the risk of ending up on the shore. The deliberate nature of the foreigners' actions also is shown by the fact that, despite all attempts by Russia's sailors to contact the submarine, it changed course, moved away, and attempted to break free of pursuit.

The biggest likelihood, the admiral noted, is that it is a matter of an American or British submarine, as other foreign submarines have not so far been observed in the Barents Sea. Its crew, like the crew of the Baton Rouge, obviously were engaged in intelligence activities, performing specific tasks set by their planning headquarters. "As a private person," Aleksin stressed, "I could connect yesterday's incident with Richard Cheney's statement on 19 February this year, in which he asserted that the United States does not intend to change the character of its naval operations in the Barents Sea."

In a confidential conversation, one of the fleet's senior officers told the ITAR-TASS observer: "I am 99 percent certain that it was the Americans. If this had happened 10 years ago, we simply would have fired a salvo from the antisubmarine rocket-propelled depth-charge launcher to a depth of 30 meters, and the submarine at a depth of 60 meters would have shot up to the surface like a cork. No one is anxious to die. Our Foreign Ministry would have known exactly where to send its note."

Protest Lodged

LD2703102592 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Viktor Litovkin report: "Foreign Submarines Feel Increasingly Free in Russian Territorial Waters"]

[Text] INTERFAX has reported from the Navy Main Staff that a foreign submarine was detected once again 25 March in Russian territorial waters six miles west of Kildin Island in the Kola Gulf. The CIS Navy Northern Fleet's destroyer Gremyashchiy tracked it for 40 minutes.

The Joint Armed Forces Press Center confirmed this report. It added that in addition to the destroyer Gremyashchiy the submerged foreign submarine was also under surveillance by the destroyer Rastoropnyy. There were no CIS Navy submarines in the region.

IZVESTIYA's correspondent was told by naval experts that this time the foreign submarine went more than 12 miles into Russia's domestic waters, in the same area in which there was a collision between two CIS Navy and U.S. Navy nuclear submarines 11 February (IZVESTIYA No. 43). The Russian Foreign Ministry then lodged a protest with the United States in connection with the fact that the U.S. submarine Baton Rouge had gone five miles into Russian territorial waters.

This incursion by a foreign ship into Russian territorial waters, Rear Admiral Valeriy Aleksin, Navy chief navigator, believes, can be described as deliberate.

For an hour the Northern Fleet ships, using preset signals (special underwater communication sounds and grenade

explosions at certain intervals prescribed by Navigational Notice to Mariners No. 1 for 1992, with which all seamen are familiar) tried to bring the unidentified submarine to the surface, but it left Russian territorial waters by the shortest route at a speed of 12 knots (roughly 22km per hour) on discovering that it was being tracked. Northern Fleet aircraft "escorted" it for roughly an hour.

From the submarine's maneuvers and the interference that it tried to create using hydroacoustic devices, military experts determined that it was a nuclear submarine.

What is more, Russian seamen think that this may have been a U.S. submarine. Of late the U.S. Armed Forces Command has withdrawn its aircraft carriers from the Sea of Norway, thus demonstrating some trust in Russia, but it has increased its presence on the invisible front—under water. Military experts think that there are people within the leadership of the armed forces of states with nuclear submarines carrying ballistic missiles and nuclear torpedoes who do not like detente and the improvement in Russian-U.S. relations in all areas, including the military sphere. At least they claim that it was not previously the case that a foreign surface ship or submarine would violate the same area of our state's territorial waters with such impunity in the space of one or two months.

Pentagon Official Cited

LD2703054292 Moscow TASS in English 0531 GMT 27 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Lebedev]

[Text] Washington, March 27 TASS—The U.S. Ministry of Defense on Monday [as received] launched its investigation into a new incident with a foreign submarine detected on March 25 by Russian Northern Fleet's ships in Russian territorial waters off the Kola Peninsula. Pentagon's official, Captain Third Rank Gregory Hartang, told ITAR-TASS that the Pentagon was scrutinising the reports of the incident and U.S. Secretary of Defense Richard Cheney was aware of the investigation.

Hartang neither denied nor confirmed that the submarine probably belongs to the U.S. He said Pentagon officials did not discuss operations involving nuclear submarines, refraining from any further comment.

The CNN TV company, referring to its own unidentified sources within the Pentagon said the submarine did not belong to the U.S.

Minsk To Host Meeting on Nagorno-Karabakh

OW2603163792 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1330 GMT 26 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] An international meeting in Minsk on settling the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh may begin very soon, a Russian diplomat who asked not to disclose his name, told IF [INTERFAX]. The decision to hold such a meeting was taken a few days ago by the CSCE foreign ministers in Helsinki.

The Russian diplomat said that the Minsk talks would not involve all of the CSCE member-states. Only the about 20 parties concerned, among them Russia, the 12 EEC countries and Turkey, will participate, he said.

He also noted that although Iran is not a CSCE member, it may be invited because it is making energetic mediatory efforts to settle the Karabakh conflict.

Representatives Address CSCE Meeting

LD2603234292 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1615 GMT 26 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Arkadiy Prisyazhnyy]

[Excerpts] Moscow, 26 Mar (TASS)—Speeches by representatives of member countries of the fourth meeting of the CSCE at today's morning session ended the first stage of work of this international forum. The speakers' attention focused on questions of strengthening the Helsinki process and creating firm mechanisms to maintain peace and stability on the continent.

In his speech Albert Salamov, Azerbaijan's deputy foreign minister, paid particular attention to the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh. He set out his country's point of view on the history of the conflict and the situation in the region and expressed regret that the situation which has arisen there did not attract the appropriate attention from the world public when events first began to develop. This made it possible for the situation to develop until military action became involved. From the example of Nagorno-Karabakh one can see the importance of creating a CSCE mechanism for early warning of local and interethnic conflicts, A. Salamov stressed. Azerbaijan, he said, recognizes that trying to solve the problem by military means is disastrous and has led to a dead end. He went on to say that Azerbaijan is in favor of resolving the problem peacefully on the basis of democratic principles, the observation of human rights, and the territorial integrity of the country. He expressed support for the decision of the Council of Ministers of the CSCE on convening an international conference on Nagorno-Karabakh and noted that Azerbaijan has great expectations of the mission by Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier to convene a conference at which, as he stated, both communities living in Nagorno-Karabakh should be represented. We approve and support the efforts of the CSCE to regulate the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh since the continuation of confrontation is not in the interests of any of the parties involved in it, the speaker stressed.

Armenian Foreign Minister Raffi Hovannisian also set out in detail his view of the Karabakh problem. Supporting the proposal for the convening of an international conference in Minsk, he said that if it is to be held

successfully the CSCE countries will jointly have to endorse the list of participants. The minister enphasized that the only states who could take part in its work those who adopt a neutral position on the issue. The second prerequisite for success, in Hovannisian's view, is that a delegation from Nagorno-Karabakh should take part in it as a separate party enjoying equal rights. Giving his backing in overall terms to the idea of strengthening CSCE mechanisms for settling conflicts, he also made a proposal to set up a system to provide early warning and prevent conflicts from escalating even before they reach the stage of violence and the outbreak of war. He advocated the establishment of a CSCE conciliation and arbitration court and the implementation of an effective mechanism to support the efforts of the CSCE. He did not, however, give his approval to the idea of creating a separate CSCE peacekeeping potential, instead preferring more effective cooperation in this area with the UN peacekeeping structures. The Armenian minister pointed to the importance of creating a post of CSCE supreme commissar for settling interethnic conflicts while they are still at an early stage. He also suggested that talks should be held among CSCE member countries with a view to ascribing legally binding status to all the principles of the Helsinki process developed in recent years.

Belarus is in favor of the implementation of international disarmament initiatives, that country's Foreign Minister Petr Kravchenko stated. He reported that tactical nuclear weapons have virtually already been withdrawn from the territory of Belarus. The small quantity remaining is located in military units subordinated to the center and has been put onto a state of reduced combat readiness. Their total removal from the territory of the republic is only a question of time and technical possibilities. Belarus is not putting forward any political conditions in connection with this since it understands that the withdrawal and destruction of these weapons require special technologies. Any attempts to destroy them by our own efforts, without sufficient experience, would be fraught with great danger. The speaker proposed that during the preparations for the meeting of heads of states and governments in Helsinki the issue should be examined of creating a nuclear-free zone in the center of Europe which would include the Scandinavian countries, the Baltic states, Belarus, Ukraine, and the countries of Central Europe. [passage omitted]

Georgian Deputy Foreign Minister Tedo Dzhaparidze thanked those taking part in the meeting for the trust they displayed in accepting his country as a CSCE participating state. He gave an assurance that Georgia will respect the principles of the Helsinki process. Georgia, he said, will comply with all international obligations concerning disarmament and nuclear nonproliferation and also security and regional stability. In support of the principles of democracy, Georgia will hold free parliamentary elections this fall. It will make a positive contribution to the process of developing the CSCE, the speaker said.

Foreign Trade 'Crisis' Analyzed

PM2603120592 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 24 Mar 92 First Edition p 3

[Candidate of Economic Sciences Rostislav Konyayev article under the "Integration" rubric: "We Traded Badly With the West, But Are Now Trading Even Worse"]

[Text] The present state of the former Union's foreign economic ties may be described with a single word—crisis. Over the past year foreign trade turnover fell 38 percent and totaled 81.5 billion rubles, i.e. it was almost equal to the level in 1979. At the same time there was a particularly significant drop in imports of goods. In connection with the shortage of currency there was a sharp reduction in purchases of fabrics, leather footwear, textile and knitted goods, etc. Food imports also fell. It was only possible to increase deliveries of meat, grain crops, and raw sugar to the country. The sharp drop in purchases of raw materials and semimanufactures abroad affected almost all sectors of industry, but it had a particularly acute effect on light industry and the food and chemical industries.

One of the reasons for the crisis of our foreign economic ties is the extremely backward structure of foreign trade. International experience attests that machinery and equipment are the most profitable goods for export. Their share of world trade exceeds 30 percent, whereas in our country their share is approximately 18 percent. But this takes into account exports to all parts of the world, i.e. including developing countries. If you look at the structure of exports only to developed countries, here the share of this commodity group stands at approximately 3 percent.

Russia occupies the leading place in the total volume of the CIS countries' foreign trade. Its share of exports approaches 80 percent, and its share of imports 59.3 percent. At the same time it is the only one of the major republics of the former USSR with a surplus balance in foreign trade—which has enabled it to finance imports of goods for other republics. The same problem of the imperfect nature of the foreign trade structure applies to it to a greater degree, however. Not one sovereign republic of the CIS experienced such a drop in exports in 1991, compared with 1990, as Russia did—by almost 71 percent. At the same time it is also necessary to point out the considerable drop in imported deliveries, particularly of meat, poultry, butter, and medical supplies, and the reduction in machinery and equipment imports by almost half.

Do we have any untapped potential? In the eighties weapons sales were a major source of currency revenue. We traded in all kinds of weapons—from pistols and assault rifles to missile complexes, modern aircraft, and submarines. Unfortunately, we still lack full information about the magnitude of annual arms deliveries. According to data of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, during the period 1986-90 the USSR sold weapons abroad to a value of $59.8 billion, and the United States—$52.7 billion. But our "achievements" in this sphere have now fallen to an annual level of $4-6 billion, and we have yielded the palm to the

Americans. Of course, if we start selling modern military hardware again, we will be able to obtain, according to some estimates, up to $15-30 billion—which will amount to between 20 and 40 percent of our export revenue. For a number of reasons, however, mainly of a political nature, we cannot afford this at present. We now sell it to developing countries, many of which buy it not for cash but on credit—which leads only to a growth in their debts, and we have not known what to do with these for many years now. But it would be unwise simply to get out of this market. Therefore it is now necessary to mount an intensive search for international cooperation on this question, particularly within the UN framework.

We could utilize some possibilities of another source of currency revenue from space research on a commercial basis.

The restructuring of management of the foreign economic complex had gone further than the reform of the domestic economy. There was, moreover, the effect of constant pressure from unthinking patriots—"they are selling off the motherland!" As a result, restrictions were introduced. But in the end the state did not resolve its problems, and enterprises lost their sales markets. Our economic policy now needs a change of criteria. The enterprises' interests must be regarded as of paramount importance. They must not be protected against the external market with the help of licenses, quotas, and export duties. Enterprises must be given the opportunity first to earn currency and only then be taxed. The Russian president's decree of 15 November 1991 must operate in full in respect of legal persons.

Obviously, it will not be possible, all the same, to achieve fundamental changes in the structure of foreign trade in the very near future. Therefore it is expedient now to switch attention to attracting foreign capital, while at the same time indicating the spheres to which it will be denied access. What is needed in other sectors is differentiated concessions and, under conditions of privatization, specific offers for foreign capital which would be widely advertised. It is also time to take real steps to realize decisions on the free economic zones to be created in border oblasts above all.

Entrepreneurs' Congress Opens in Moscow

LD2503192692 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1200 GMT 25 Mar 92

[Text] The international congress for a regional market in Eastern Europe and Asia has opened in Moscow. More than 800 entrepreneurs, businessmen, scholars, and economists from the CIS countries, Eastern Europe, and the Asiatic and Pacific Ocean region are in attendence. During the course of two days of discussion they will attempt to determine paths for the development of economic links between their countries, the role of entrepreneurs, and of scientific and public organizations in the formation of a free economy. Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy was present at the opening of the congress. He gave an exposition of the concept of the reform of the agrarian sector of the Russian economy.

Larger U.S. Aid Contribution Urged

PM2603094192 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Mar 92 First Edition p 6

[ITAR-TASS report: "Aid. One-Third of 'Package' From United States"]

[Text] Washington—Three years and $100 billion—these, according to assessments by the National Planning Association, should be the periods for giving and the volume of international aid to the former Soviet republics.

A statement circulated here made by the organization—which unites influential U.S. businessmen, trade union leaders, and well-known academics—notes that one-third of this "package" can and must come from the United States. "Decisive and urgent economic support for the former USSR republics is in the United States' national interests," the document stresses. "We are deeply concerned that the opportunity that has arisen to make the world safer and to establish a new economic order could be lost."

As of today the U.S. contribution totals only 6 percent of all international aid to the former USSR, M. Lowell, National Planning Association president, stated, adding for comparison that Germany's contribution is eight and a half times greater.

Second Stage of U.S. Aid Operation Noted

LD2703110292 Moscow TASS in English 0832 GMT 27 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Igor Barsukov]

[Text] Washington, March 27 TASS—"The United States will shortly launch the second stage of its 'hope' operation to deliver 15 thousand tons of food products and several hundred tons of medicines to the CIS nations and Georgia," Richard Armitage, State Department coordinator of this aid told the House Committee on Armed Services on Thursday [26 March].

The aid will be delivered mainly by ground and sea from U.S. Army storehouses in Germany. The deliveries are expected to be completed by mid-June. Armitage said 25 million U.S. dollars out of the 165 allocated to the U.S. Department of Agriculture for humanitarian aid to the CIS have still not been used up. The question of what they will be spent on is now being decided through negotiations.

Armitage said that the U.S. Administration would also render assistance to CIS scientists, many of whom find it impossible to go on working normally in the CIS due to financial problems. The U.S. Department of Commerce is now discussing with American companies and research organisations the possibility of inviting 150 CIS scientists to the United States for three or six months, to start with. The U.S. Government will cover their travel expenses and partially the cost of their sojourn in the country.

Commonwealth

Further on CIS Interparliamentary Conference

Preparations Completed

LD2603180192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1420 GMT 26 Mar 92

[By KAZTAG correspondent Vladimir Akimov—TASS]

[Text] Alma-Ata, 26 Mar (TASS)—The idea of setting up a Commonwealth interparliamentary assembly will probably be the main issue at tomorrow's meeting of heads of parliaments of the CIS member states in Alma-Ata. Matters relating to the establishment of close cooperation between the top legislative bodies, to the organization of a unified news and information service, and a coordinated policy in the sphere of financial credit and tax systems are also expected to be examined.

Preparations for the consultative meeting of chairmen of the supreme soviets of the CIS member states were completed in Alma-Ata today, according to Yerbol Shaymerdenov, press secretary of the Kazakhstan parliament. Working groups of the delegations of Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, and Tajikistan have drawn up proposals on the agenda and draft documents.

Evidently, the most heated debates will be over the establishment of an interparliamentary assembly. Representatives of certain delegations fear that this body could become a lever for putting pressure on parliaments and could limit the range of their legislative activity and ultimately turn into something like the Supreme Soviet of the former USSR.

Not all parliaments will be represented at the meeting in Alma-Ata. In particular, Moldova has decided not to send a delegation. The reason given for this is the worsening conflict in the Dnestr region. Things are still unclear regarding the participation of Turkmenistan and certain other republics.

Khasbulatov Arrives

LD2603165992 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1500 GMT 26 Mar 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Official delegations are arriving in Alma-Ata for the conference of the parliamentary chairmen of the CIS republics. The first to arrive in Alma-Ata by air was Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian parliament. In a brief interview on arrival, he noted that despite the disintegration of the Soviet Union, our nations are still getting along well and, according to him, it is important to preserve this valuable heritage.

No doubt the main theme in Alma-Ata tomorrow will be this meeting of the parliamentary leaders.

Five Questions on Agenda

LD2703093192 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0800 GMT 27 Mar 92

[Text] The consultative conference of the chairmen of the Supreme Soviets [parliaments] of the CIS member states opened in Alma-Ata today. Meeting at the round table are the members of eight official delegations—Armenia, headed by Supreme Soviet Chairman Babken Ararktsyan; Belarus—by Supreme Soviet Deputy Chairman Vasiliy Shalodonov; Kazakhstan—by Supreme Soviet Chairman Serikbolsyn Abdildin; Kyrgyzstan—by Supreme Soviet Chairman Medetkan Sherimkulov; Russia—by Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov; Tajikistan—by (Kaderzhon Dzhabarov), deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet's committee for legislation; Uzbekistan—by Supreme Soviet Deputy Chairman Boris Bugrov; and Ukraine—by Supreme Soviet Chairman Ivan Plyushch.

The Azerbaijan side is present at the meeting in an observer capacity and is represented by a delegation led by (Vadis Kasimov), the chairman of one of the Supreme Soviet's committees. This is because the republic's parliament has not yet ratified the relevant documents on entry to the CIS. The delegations of Moldova and Turkmenistan have not arrived at the meeting. It was announced that their absence was connected with objective reasons, but no explanation has yet been given as to what they are.

The meeting's agenda includes five questions—an interparliamentary assembly of the CIS member states; cooperation between the permanent commissions and committees of the Supreme Soviets of the Commonwealth states; preparation of the first plenary session of an interparliamentary assembly of the CIS member states; the drawing up of the statutes of an interparliamentary information and enquiry service; and cooperation between the Supreme Soviets over questions of monetary and credit policy.

Khasbulatov Comments

LD2703093892 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0900 GMT 27 Mar 92

[Text] The second meeting of heads of parliament of the CIS states is under way in Alma-Ata. Ruslan Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet, called the start of the consultative meeting entirely successful and constructive. He gave this assessment in a conversation with journalists during a break in the morning session, which examined the creation of an inter- parliamentary assembly.

In Ruslan Khasbulatov's estimation, the draft agreement on this matter, which is being discussed today, has undergone certain alterations compared with the version put forward at the Moscow meeting one month ago. The head of the Russian Parliament noted that the document has been softened. Clauses on the body's centralized and coordinating functions have been removed. Ruslan

Khasbulatov did not rule out the possibility that some of those taking part in the meeting would not sign the document.

Ukraine Submits Alternative Draft

LD2703105392 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 27 Mar 92

[Text] As we have already reported, the consultative conference of representatives of the parliaments of the Commonwealth states is being held in Alma-Ata. Delegations of eight parliaments are taking part in it. Azerbaijan has been presented as an observer. The delegations of Moldova and Turkmenistan could not come for objective reasons.

Opening the conference, the chairman of the Kazakh Supreme Soviet [Abdildin] stated that in his opinion the main task should be to achieve a unity of views for an interparliamentary assembly as a basis for cooperation between the legislative bodies of the CIS states.

However, there has so far not been any unanimity on the question of an assembly. As the RIA agency reports, Ukraine has, among other things, submitted an alternative draft which does not provide for the setting up of an assembly, but proposes cooperation at the level of committees and standing commissions of parliament.

'Probability' That Ukraine May Withdraw From CIS

OW2603175092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1638 GMT 26 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In an interview with IF [INTERFAX] the assistant Commander-in-Chief of the CIS Joint Armed Forces Nikolay Stolyarov has said that there is a great probability at the moment of Ukraine withdrawing from the CIS.

In his opinion, "there are forces in Ukraine interested in doing the same to the CIS that was done to the USSR".

However, he was convinced that even if Ukraine really leaves the Commonwealth, this will not cause the breakdown of the community.

Commonwealth Creation Having 'A Second Go'

PM2703123392 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 26 Mar 92 First Edition p 7

[Yelizaveta Leontyeva "Opinion": "At the Second Go?"]

[Text] There is a feeling since the meeting in Kiev that the creation of the CIS has not reached a new stage and that its creation has restarted from scratch, as it were. It is having a second go. And this is because it is failing at present to strengthen the main pillar of the Commonwealth—the union of Russia and Ukraine. And also because, like it or not, a Kiev-Chisinau bloc and a Russian-Central Asian bloc have begun to take shape.

It seems to me that Boris Yeltsin has most fervently championed the most vital form of Commonwealth and he is now seeking to create it. Although is not Russia on its own, Russia which is so huge and where there is more than enough work, not enough for us? Well no, it is not enough, it is better to stick together—our ties run like deep veins from one state to another.

Only not everything is so simple. The interests of politicians prevail over these vital ties. Leonid Kravchuk states that the CIS is a myth. His facial expression, gait, and manner of speaking—all of this made you think that he was merely a visitor, as it were, at the assembly. And he departed as such.

It is good to be proud and independent when there is cause. That is why you now hear talk of creating the CIS at the second go. I got this feeling from a pretty representative meeting just held in Kazakhstan. No, it was not a broad meeting, it was only a meeting between Kazakhstan and Russia, but they did, on the other hand, manage to link up the two states' reforms there and agree on price and banking activity. And this, it must be said, is a very great deal. Provided, of course, the agreements are fulfilled.

"We wanted to set a good example of mutually beneficial cooperation to the other states," Kazakhstan Prime Minister Sergey Tereshchenko stated. And Belarus resolved there and then to join the two states.

How many more such goes, however, still have to be made?

Gorbachev Cannot Forgive Yeltsin for Breakup

LD2603172292 Moscow TASS in English 1337 GMT 26 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksey Golyayev]

[Text] Rome March 26 (TASS)—Relations with Russia's President Boris Yeltsin, the state of affairs in Russia and in the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) as a whole are the subject of yet another article by former Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, published in today's LA STAMPA newspaper under the headline "Yeltsin has made a mistake but I will help him".

"The future of our entire Commonwealth depends to a considerable extent on how things will get on in Russia," Gorbachev points out.

"I have no doubt about Yeltsin's commitment to democratic reforms. Our positions on that coincide but we have had and still have differences over an approach to the solution of problems, particularly as regards timeframe, sequence of changes and practical measures.

"But I cannot forgive Yeltsin for his failure to meet his obligations on one principled matter: a reform of our

multi-ethnic state. Following the August coup, we were busy working out a draft new Union treaty jointly.

"At a meeting of the state council, we agreed to send the draft treaty to the parliaments of all republics. I think that the change of attitude, to which Yeltsin resorted behind my back by proclaiming the demise of the USSR, was a strategic error.

"If the new Commonwealth was conceived as a cover for breaking up the Soviet Union (and we know that such a concept has been and remains in existence among the Russian leadership), one should come to realise that this process will continue until it leads to a disaster.

"If it is a question of sincere intentions to find a new form of relationships between independent states, to encompass as many republics of the former Soviet Union as possible (which has been achieved, outwardly at least), then we shall hope that time will not be lost and that real coordinating agencies will be established. Unfortunately, this does not happen, at least now. Something quite the contrary is happening," the former Soviet president observes.

Gorbachev points out that many of the negative consequences of the Soviet Union's break-up, which he mentioned earlier, have already been manifest: There is no common economic space any longer, the unity of the army is in jeopardy, territorial disputes and inter-ethnic conflicts flare up increasingly often.

He believes that an outrage on historical realities is being committed and that policy makers should not sit idle under these conditions.

Those who commit such an outrage will not hold out for long, the former Soviet president warns.

If the present leaders do not want to find themselves in such a position, they must act quite differently and first of all create agencies to coordinate the efforts of CIS countries on an equal basis, Gorbachev maintains.

Military

Border Commander on Troop Status, Desertions

LD2603213192 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 26 Mar 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Oganesov] The borders of the sovereign states in Central Asia and the Caucasus are being used to bring large amounts of weapons, drugs, and contrabrand into the CIS. For example, last year alone around 2,000 weapons and drugs and contrabrand worth more than 130 million rubles were confiscated. This was stated at a news conference by the heads of the interstate committee for guarding borders.

The commander of the border troops, Colonel-General Ilya Kalinichenko, expressed satisfaction with the decision adopted by the CIS heads of state which defines the status of border troops. He shared his concerns on the way the former Union's borders are being guarded. The commander defined the situation regarding the provision of material and technical resources as catastrophic and expressed concern at shortfalls in personnel and ever more frequent incidents of desertion. He said that the neutrality of border troops proclaimed by the command is practically making the personnel and their families hostages of national conflicts.

The signing of the document on the status of border troops by the majority of CIS members may turn out to be fiction. The decision adopted by Moldova, Ukraine, Belarus, and Uzbekistan on the creation of their own border troops allows these countries to establish their own procedures for border controls. This is what this is leading to.

[Begin recording] [Kalinichenko] At the moment we are catching groups of Romanians in Vyborg, on the Korean border, and on the Chinese border.

[Oganesov] And that is not including spies. So, foreign sovereignty may be a security threat to its neighbor. If the situation in the economy worsens—there are such forecasts, and you yourself said that the Army is a reflection of what is happening in society—then isn't the same demoralization which existed in 1917-18 threatening us?

[Kalinichenko] A difficult question. But if one is to be frank, then everything is possible. [end recording]

Russian Border Creation 'Inexpedient'

LD2603193492 Moscow TASS in English 1853 GMT 26 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Mikhail Shevtsov]

[Text] Moscow March 26 TASS— Documents, signed at the Kiev CIS summit, created a legal basis for the protection of the CIS state border, CIS Border Troops' Commander-in-Chief Ilya Kalinichenko told a news conference here today.

Before March 20 Kalinichenko was the commander of legally non-existing military structure. Only now the status of the border troops of the Commonwealth and the independent states has been legally registered.

Despite the creation of republican border troops in Ukraine, Belarus, Uzbekistan and Moldova, the major part of them remains under control of the CIS border troops' allied command.

Kalinichenko noted the notion "state border" is identical to the notion "exterior border of the Commonwealth".

He believes the creation of Russian border troops is inexpedient in the current situation. The three fourth of the CIS state border coincides with the Russian boundaries. The breaking of well-adjusted system may cost a lot to the interests of security both of Russia and other CIS states, he thinks.

Speaking on the status of the border troops in the Baltic states, the commander-in-chief said until the complete withdrawal of the CIS troops from the region border guards will remain under the Russian jurisdiction. In future, it is planned to move them to the new locations at the state border.

CIS, Ukraine in 'Cold War' Over Airspace Use

PM2703111592 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 1

[Viktor Litovkin report: "We Used To Fly the Same Skies; They Cannot Be Divided Up at Ukrainian Military Airfields"]

[Text] An inspection tour by a group of U.S. military experts who have come to Moscow to monitor our country's implementation of the Treaty on Intermediate and Shorter-Range Missiles was almost wrecked on the morning of 25 March. Their scheduled departure for the population center of Zherebkovo in Odessa Oblast was delayed almost an hour.

Not for meteorological or technical reasons, much less to "conceal" any secrets, Lieutenant General Valeriy Vasilyev, commander of what is now the Ukrainian 24th Air Army, failed to give the "go-ahead" for a military aircraft from Russia to fly over the state's territory.

On the same day the Ukrainian Defense Ministry banned Colonel General Vyacheslav Yefanov, commander of military transport aviation of the Joint Armed Forces Air Force, from visiting units under his jurisdiction on Ukrainian territory. Colonel General Petr Deynekin, commander of the CIS Joint Armed Forces Air Force, received the same ban the day before.

Only Marshal of Aviation Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov's intervention and his personal appeal to Colonel General Konstantin Morozov, Ukrainian defense minister, enabled the Air Force commander to leave on his official tour of duty.

Relations between Ukrainian and Joint Armed Forces military pilots have not deteriorated due to personal animosity between the leaders of the two military departments. Pilots by profession and birth, they still call one another comrade, but they cannot divide up aircraft equipment in a comradely manner.

Under the Minsk agreements signed by the heads of the CIS states, the three front-line aviation air armies headquartered in Kiev, Lvov, and Odessa have passed to Ukraine. Military transport aviation (there are six regiments and roughly 200 Il-76 aircraft in Ukraine), as well as strategic bomber and strike aviation, including a Tu-95 MS division in the city of Uzin 100km from Kiev, were treated as part of the strategic forces under this agreement.

Admittedly, on the instructions of Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk the agreement contains a note to the effect that the list of units making up the strategic forces is decided by the state on whose territory they are stationed in coordination with the CIS Joint Armed Forces High Command.

But without coordination with the CIS Joint Armed Forces High Command Ukraine has declared all six regiments of Il-76 military transporters to be its own and has "expropriated" the only regiment of tanker aircraft in the whole Commonwealth (30 Il-78's) from the Tu-95 MS strategic bomber divisions as well as a transport squadron of An-12's, An-24's, and An-2's without which "the strategics" are no longer strategic.

There is a highly acute conflict under way within the heavy bomber air division stationed in Uzin. Marshal of Aviation Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the CIS Joint Armed Forces, removed Major General Mikhail Bashkirov, division commander, from his post for unlawful actions (IZVESTIYA No. 67). A new officer was appointed in his place—Valeriy Gargol.

But Col. Gen. Konstantin Morozov, Ukrainian defense minister, restored Bashkirov to his post. The division has two commanders. Some pilots have sworn an oath of loyalty to Ukraine, while others have refused to do so. They do not know whose commands to carry out and whom they serve. What is more, they are virtually not flying since there is no fuel; they are losing their skills, and have not received full pay for several months... Those are by no means all the problems worrying aviators. The unit's arsenals contain nuclear warheads for long-range cruise missiles that are only to be withdrawn from Ukrainian territory by 1994.

Major Aleksandr Kazantsev, strategic bomber commander, said:

"The conflict in our unit has reached the point where disaster may occur."

Col. Gen. Petr Deynekin, commander of the CIS Joint Armed Forces Air Force, said the following during a conversation with IZVESTIYA's correspondent:

"We are not opposed to Ukraine having its own strong air fleet and performing commercial tasks with its help, but you must not forget that military transport aviation and tanker aircraft do not belong to Ukraine alone, but to the whole Commonwealth. Il's, for instance, are assembled in Tashkent, their engines are made in Rybinsk, and spare parts are produced at more than 40 plants in both Ukraine and Russia.

"We have a plan on how to use this equipment to the benefit of all the Commonwealth states; it has been

suggested to the heads of government," the general said. "It is up to them to make the decision."

For the moment the confrontation in the sky and at Ukraine's military airfields, which some have described as a "cold war," is continuing.

Details Reported on MiG Fighter Destruction

OW2603210892 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1911 GMT 26 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Sources close to the Latvian Defense Ministry have supplied BALTFAX with more information on the destruction, on March 24, of two fighters MiG-27 in the sky over Latvia.

One fighter, piloted by First Lieutenant Danilov, took off from the airdrome Lielvarde between 20:00 and 20:10. It crashed on the testing ground Zvarde of the Russian armed forces in the Saldus district of Latvia. According to preliminary data, the fighter failed to pull out of a dive it was exercising at supersonic speed. Bomb dropping exercises required that it dive. The MiG was also expected to open machine gun fire on ground targets.

The source stresses the fighter hit ground at an almost direct angle. The pilot died and, as a result of the powerful blast, almost nothing remained of the black box.

The second MiG, piloted by Captain Kudrashev, took off from the same airfield around 20:20. Around 20:50 the figher hit ground on the edge of a forest in the Limbazi district, one kilometer away from the nearest village. The pilot died but the black box remained intact and can disclose the circumstances of the MiG's flight. The crash produced a crater of 12 meters in diameter. It is 5 meters deep.

A special commission under Major-General Yuriy Gerasimov of the armed forces of the Commonwealth of Independent States has arrived in Latvia to look into the circumstances of the accidents.

Independent Military Trade Union Viewed

PM2603145592 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 24 Mar 92 First Edition p 5

[Vladimir Zelentsov report under the "Army" rubric and the general heading: "Independent, But Military"]

[Text] ITUS—this abbreviation appeared quite recently and tells few people anything, but the top leadership of the CIS Joint Armed Forces knows what lies behind these four letters—the Independent Trade Union of Servicemen.

No, this is not "Shchit," which is well known among the people, nor is it a new formation which has detached itself from it. The idea for this trade union came into being last fall within the Commission for the Abolition of Military-Political Organs. The commission was superseded by the Committee for Work with Personnel. This was how the legal heir to the Main Military-Political Directorate came into being, but under a different signboard. The organizers of the ITUS were invited to work on the committee. They refused, being well aware that an attempt was being made to take them in hand. A confrontation began.

In January, on almost the same day as the All-Army Officers' Assembly, the founding congress of the ITUS was held in Saltykovka near Moscow, and 60 people gathered for it from various corners of the former USSR. Marshal of Aviation Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov was also expected. He did not come. Meanwhile, the Russian Ministry of Justice registered the ITUS, and it got its own press and bank account.

"The chief thing is that we should not be prevented from working," Captain Third Rank Mikhail Kolchev, a student of the Armed Forces' Humanitarian Academy and member of the ITUS Executive Committee, said. "We will provide ourselves with what we need."

"While remaining officers?"

"Undoubtedly. For, if we have to take off our uniform, our access to military units will be restricted."

Of course, the main task enshrined in the ITUS statutes and program is to defend the rights of the professional military man. This is why it is a question, at present, of officers, ensigns, and warrant officers. But the time will come for a professional army manned on a competitive basis, and the borderline between officers and soldiers will fade. Only this prospect still seems a long way off, and the trade union needs to gain authority right now. It is too soon to speak of any successes. There are more problems. The trade union is already working in some garrisons, but one of the basic questions—on what principles to build relations between the ITUS and the local military administration—has still not been resolved.

History is repeating itself: Relations are shaping up with difficulty. A telephone call came from Monino recently: A directive not to have dealings with the trade union is already in effect in the Gagarin Academy. A verbal directive, of course. According to Mikhail Kolchev and his colleague Andrey Goptar, the top military leadership is trying to fence the trade union in. The draft Law on the Status of the Serviceman, which has been drawn up, states that he is forbidden from participating in trade unions in addition to all sorts of public and political organizations. But what attitude, in that case, is to be taken to the Coordination Council of Officers' Assemblies, which expressed a wish at its last conference to become a state (!) structure? Unlike the Coordination Council, the ITUS does not interfere in politics and maintains neutrality, although many organizations and

even parties have wanted to enlist the support of the trade union of cadre servicemen.

Incidentally, the leaders of the ITUS emphasize that their organization extends its activity only to troops under Russia's jurisdiction. They propose that the other CIS states set up their own military trade unions and are even prepared to give material assistance initially. But since Russia does not yet have its own army, it is necessary to have dealings with the leadership of the CIS Joint Armed Forces. But no dialogue is forthcoming. Why?

Kolchev and Goptar maintain that this is because a majority which advocates preserving the old usages and rules still predominates in the top echelon of the army leadership. This is why Volkogonov's commission was not allowed to certify employees of the Main Personnel Directorate, and this is why almost 70 percent of the Committee for Work with Personnel consists of employees of the former Main Military-Political Directorate. In order to be convinced of the latter fact, you have only to compare the old and new telephone directories for the building on Gogol Avenue.

"The methods of social protection for the top military leadership have not been changed either," Mikhail Kolchev said. "We have reliable information that, after the Russian president increased servicemen's pay by 90 percent, the central apparatus of the Defense Ministry increased its own pay by... 150-200 percent. Do you see what is happening?!"

All is clear. Will any of the chiefs like it when some independent person checks their actions against the letter of the law? True, under our conditions it is hard to imagine that this independent person could also be in uniform. So then, is the dialogue being abandoned? No.

Members of the ITUS Executive Committee recently sent Shaposhnikov a letter in which they quite clearly expressed their position concerning the actions of the present top military leadership. Again they voiced their hope that the dialogue will take place.

Servicemen's Organizations Form Observer Council

MK2603151592 Moscow Teleradioveshchatelnaya Kompaniya Moskva Television in Russian 1545 GMT 25 Mar 92

[S. Nagaynik report from the "Moskovskiy Teletayp" newscast]

[Text] It seems that the "Shchit" [Shield] union, about which the previous authorities had mixed feelings, continues to attract the attention of the new organs of power and administration. This organization, which was formed 29 March 1989, now numbers 44,000 people. This figure was mentioned today in the White House at a meeting with journalists devoted to the organization's third anniversary. [video shows "Shchit" Chairman Urazhtsev speaking at the news conference]

We have never sold out and we will not do so in the future, said Vitaliy Urazhtsev, who successfully continues to chair the organization. After outlining the organization's aims and structure and its role and place in the August events, the chairman frankly admitted that in his view "Shchit" is not needed by many structures. However, the organization, which concerns itself with the social defense of servicemen and a professional army for Russia, has managed to establish businesslike contacts with the joint command of the CIS.

According to Vitaliy Urazhtsev, a historic event occured 3 March. The "Shchit" organization, Officers for Democracy, the Committee of Officers Without Apartments, and other servicemen's organizations, decided to unite and to create a so-called observer [nablyudatelnyy] council.

Military Poll Reveals Social, Legal Discontent

LD2703104192 Moscow TASS in English 0839 GMT 27 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Ostanin]

[Text] Moscow March 27 TASS—Ninety-four per cent of career servicemen in the Commonwealth of Independent States have described their living standards as "very low". The fall became particularly noticeable in the wake of price liberalisation this year, a spokesman for the center of military-sociological, psychological and legal research of the CIS Joint Armed Forces told ITAR-TASS.

Almost one-third of those polled, mostly officers and non-coms in service in Moscow and Moscow region, said their incomes were not above the level of unskilled workers. Eighty-eight per cent said they were not sufficiently protected legally and socially by the state and the Supreme Command of the CIS Joint Armed Forces. This applies above all to the provision of accommodation, the allotment of plots of land, and the introduction of monetary income indexation.

Military sociologists say the sentiments have been prompted by the failure of the CIS political and military leadership to keep their numerous promises.

More than 90 per cent of those polled gave priority to such measures of social and legal protection of the servicemen as a considerable pay rise, indexation and the promulgation of the law on the status of the military.

Baltic States

Further on Baltic Prime Ministers' Meeting

Agree on 'Common Visa Space'

LD2603165292 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1500 GMT 26 Mar 92

[Text] Tiit Vahi, Ivars Godmanis, and Gediminas Vagnorius, prime ministers of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, today signed in Tallinn a protocol that creates a

common visa space in the Baltic states. The agreement on the common visa space is taking effect as of today.

It was explained to us by the Central European office at the Estonian Foreign Ministry that the common visa space means that citizens of the Baltic states have a right to stay in any other Baltic state without any further formalities in accordance with the immigration laws of that state. Citizens of the Baltic states will not pay a fee to cross any borders within the Baltic visa space. For citizens of third countries, a visa for one of the Baltic states will also serve as a transit visa for other Baltic states, and a transit visa issued by one Baltic state will give one the right to cross into the other two states. A transit visa will provide the right to stay in any one Baltic state for up to 48 hours.

Sign Free Trade Protocol

OW2603223792 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1911 GMT 26 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Prime Ministers Tiit Vahi, Ivars Godmanis and Gediminas Vagnorius of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania have formally agreed in Tallinn to introduce a joint visa policy in their republics. Tiit Vahi has informed newsmen the trilateral agreement comes into force today, on March 26, and entitles Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian nationals, as well as foreign bearers of Estonian, Latvian or Lithuanian visas, to free travel inside the three Baltics.

The three Prime Ministers have also signed a protocol on free trade. As of May 1, they will lift all monetary and administrative restrictions, as well as customs tariffs, on trade between their republics.

And they have signed a communique on trade and economic relations between the three Baltics and the Commonwealth of Independent States. The document suggests that the Commonwealth republics take a more liberal approach to trade and ecconomic relations and introduce free trade relations.

The three Prime Ministers have agreed to take it upon themselves to control actions in the framework of the Baltic Council. Until now the Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian Ministers of the Economy took turns in doing this.

Tiit Vahi, Ivars Godmanis and Gediminas Vagnorius have decided to set up a trilateral working group to coordinate action in power production.

Introduce Own Monetary Units

OW2603225792 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1911 GMT 26 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Summing up the results of a working meeting he and his Latvian and Lithuanian counterparts held on March 26 in Tallinn, Estonian Prime Minister Tiit Vahi has said the three Baltics are ready to introduce monetary units of their own.

The Baltic Prime Ministers have informed newsmen they will coordinate action in this field.

Ivars Godmanis of Latvia pointed out each republic must take care to avoid infringement on its neighbors' interests.

Want Free Trade With West

OW2603231992 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1911 GMT 26 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A counsellor with the Estonian Foreign Ministry Priit Kolbre has informed BALTFAX that on April 6 Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia will be expected to sign agreements on free trade with the European Community, and a week later Estonia will sign a similar agreement with Sweden.

On March 24 Estonia and Norway initialed, in Oslo, agreements on the reciprocal protection of investments and free relations in bilateral trade. Earlier Estonia concluded similar agreements with Finland.

Media

TASS Carries Press Review for 27 Mar

LD2703083192 Moscow TASS in English 0728 GMT 27 Mar 92

[Text] Moscow March 27 TASS—By ITAR-TASS:

"Cold War Between Russia and Ukraine May Become a Bitter Reality," the article, carried Friday [27 March] by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA on its front page, was entitled. The article dealt with the acute problems, emerging from the division of the long-range and transport aviation between the two republics. According to the newspaper, such "war" "will make aircraft come to a standstill, will ruin thousands of lives."

In an interview with KRASNAYA ZVEZDA chairman of the Russian Defense Industry's trade union association, S. Shuklin, said the industry's exports have reduced 3.8 times as compared with 1989. During the same period the U.S. increased its exports of arms 2.2 times, Shuklin said.

Pavel Bunich, chairman of Russian lease holders and entrepreneurs' union, in an interview with a RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA correspondent said this summer would not become lethal for the reform if the government demonstrated a more flexible policy.

The Gorbachev Foundation Vice Chairman Aleksandr Yakovlev in an interview with a KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA's Tokyo correspondent criticised sharply both

the concept and the methods, employed in creating the Commonwealth of Independent States. "The Minsk agreement (on creating the CIS) cannot withstand any criticism neither from legal nor from moral point of view," Yakovlev emphasised. But, he admitted, CIS became a reality, and it was silly to fight against reality.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA carried a report by Swiss journalist Erich Heusli on the International Red Cross activities in the Nagorno-Karabakh enclave. The Swiss reporter wrote that despite all the difficulties both the hostile sides try to assist the International Red Cross in carrying out its duties.

An expert in international affairs Vladislav Kurochkin mused on the new concepts in Russian foreign policy in ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA. The whole world is developing dynamically, he wrote, former outsider countries are coming to the fore. Russian diplomacy must detect the new trends and use them effectively in Russia's favour.

ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in its publication, entitled "Russia Is Seeking Its Face," dedicated to the forthcoming Sixth Congress of Russian Deputies, wrote that the signing of the federal treaty, which will enter the Russian Constitution as one of its chapters, will remove the last obstacles towards the creation of Russian Constitution. The present widely-spread opinion to the effect that the Congress will not be able to adopt the new constitution is groundless, the paper wrote.

International Affairs

Adviser: U.S. Soldiers 'Defected' From Vietnam

AU2703153492 Paris AFP in English 1528 GMT 27 Mar 92

[Text] Moscow, March 27 (AFP)—A group of U.S. serviceman "defected" from the Vietnam war and were brought by the KGB to the former Soviet Union and used for propaganda purposes, Russian President Boris Yeltsin's defense adviser said here Friday [27 March].

The admission by General Dmitriy Volkogonov was the first public confession from government officials in Moscow that U.S. Vietnam War serviceman had been transported to the former Soviet Union during the conflict.

Volkogonov said there were a number of other cases of U.S. military personnel who fought in World War II and other wars since who lived afterwards in the Soviet Union, including some U.S. nationals who fought in Hitler's army.

POW Investigation Commission Created

LD2603215992 Moscow TASS in English 1800 GMT 26 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Postanogov]

[Text] Moscow, March 26 TASS—A plenary meeting of the joint Russo-American commission that opened in Moscow on Thursday [26 March] has the purpose to establish the destiny of American citizens who were taken prisoner or were missing in action after World War Two, the Korean and Vietnam wars and incidents of the cold war period.

The Russian part of the commission is headed by Russian President's Adviser for Defence Dmitriy Volkogonov. The U.S. part of the commission is headed by former U.S. Ambassador to the USSR Malcolm Toon. The commission includes representatives of the Russian parliament, Foreign, Defence and Security Ministries, the Russian Foreign Intelligence Service, as well as various experts. The U.S. side is represented by congressmen, officials of the State Department, Defence Department and intelligence services.

Four working groups were formed at the meeting to deal with specific matters. "The Russian side will do its utmost to provide answers to questions put by the American side and to throw light on the destinies of missing Americans", Volkogonov said. Members of the commission will be able to study archive materials that can elucidate destinies of American citizens, will be able to meet officials and private individuals who can supply the information about the missing persons.

The question of Soviet prisoners-of-war in Afghanistan was also raised during the plenary meeting. No special group has been formed on this problem, but Malcolm Toon said the U.S. side is prepared to do everything possible to find out what happened to them.

Speaking at the meeting, U.S. Ambassador to Russia Robert Strauss on behalf of U.S. President George Bush and the American people expressed gratitude to leaders to the Russian Federation for organising the meeting and granting assistance.

The commission will continue working on Friday [27 March].

More on Efforts To Release POW's in Afghanistan

LD2503171192 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1200 GMT 24 Mar 92

[Text] The Russian parliament continues its efforts to obtain the release of citizens of Russia and other CIS states taken prisoner in Afghanistan. Ion Andronov, deputy chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet Committee for International Affairs, has told this to the RIKA agency. He noted that there are 304 servicemen of the former USSR on the lists of those missing, though it is not ruled out that this figure could be significantly higher. The search for them is made more difficult by the fact that the POW's have been converted to the Muslim faith and their names have been changed. The United Nations should pass a resolution requiring states which support the mujahidin, above all, Pakistan, Iran, and Saudi Arabia, to assist in the release of prisoners, said Ion Andronov.

'Reliable Sources' Say Submarines Sold to Iran

OW2703130392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1102 GMT 27 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] As DP ["Diplomatic Panorama"—as received] learned from absolutely reliable sources, Russia did sell three submarines to Iran. A source in the naval circles in Moscow has said that this involved modern diesel subs referred to as "Kilo" under NATO classification.

The transaction was concluded by Russia's Ministry for External Economic Relations. The subs to be handed over to Iran are at the disposal of the Baltic Sea Fleet. At the moment sailors from the Fleet's personnel are being selected to form crews that will deliver the subs to Iran, since "Iranians themselves are not sure that they can run them independently so far."

A high-ranking spokesman for the Navy Staff in Moscow believes that the press service of the main command of the CIS armed forces was too hasty when it refuted reports on the commercial transaction with Iran several days ago.

Yeltsin Accuses Azerbaijani Leader of Lying

LD2603153892 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1455 GMT 26 Mar 92

[Text] Moscow, 26 Mar (ITAR-TASS)—The interview with Yagub Mamedov, chairman of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet, published in IZVESTIYA on 25 March "contains statements that are difficult to describe other than as utter disinformation and lies." This is said in a statement from the press service of the Russian Federation president that was distributed officially in Moscow today.

The statement says that "Yagub Mamedov's assertions about the alleged bias of Russia and of President Boris Yeltsin personally on questions connected with the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh cause dismay, to say the least. Yagub Mamedov even goes so far as to allege that Armenia and Russia are conducting 'a unilateral war against peaceful Azerbaijanis.' It is amazing that a man occupying such a high state post is so careless with his words."

"It is well known," the document says, "that Russia has undertaken and is still undertaking great efforts to put an end to the bloodshed and to solve the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh by peaceful means. Azerbaijan and Armenia, and also the world community, have paid due respect to the contribution made by Boris Yeltsin to the search for a settlement of the conflict."

In light of the well-known facts, utterances similar to those which Yagub Mamedov permitted himself to make in the IZVESTIYA interview cause regret, the press service of the Russian president stresses.

Yeltsin-Bush Summit Previewed by 'Expert'

OW2603163092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1350 GMT 26 Mar 92

[Report by M. Mayorov, I. Porshnev and others from "Diplomatic Panorama"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A leading expert on disarmament at Russia's Foreign Ministry has warned that at their summit to be held in June Boris Yeltsin and George Bush should not be expected to sign a "many-page" agreement comparable with the treaty on strategic offensive weapons Moscow and Washington signed last year.

During B. Yeltsin's upcoming visit to the U.S., he said, the two sides will not conclude a new treaty. They'll only announce initiatives for further cuts in strategic weapons on the basis of the already existing START-1.

"Currently Russia and the U.S. are not engaged in talks they held for 8 years to draft START-1 only because there is no need to do so", the expert explained. Such issues are coordinated at the meetings between the heads of foreign policy establishments and their deputies, and on the highest level too. The two sides also exchange letters through diplomatic channels.

"As a matter of fact, the long and intense talks on disarmament reflected the 'Cold War' spirit, when each side pressed for conditions beneficial to itself. Currently the situation is quite different; we seek and fin mutual understanding on issues under discussion", the expert said.

"What is to be signed by B. Yeltsin and G. Bush will be a document stating the two countries' approaches to further cuts in strategic offensive weapons", said the expert who is directly involved in this work. "Nevertheless the future document's significance should not be underestimated. Its importance will lie in its contents, not in its volume", the expert pointed out.

Foreign Ministry Welcomes Resolution on Angola

LD2703063792 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1310 GMT 26 Mar 92

[Text] Moscow, 26 Mar (ITAR-TASS)—In a resolution passed on 24 March, the UN Security Council unanimously approved the UN secretary general's report recommending that UN-monitored elections be prepared and held in Angola in September. Thus, says a statement from a Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman circulated here, another specific and encouraging step has been taken toward implementing the Lisbon accords, a step intended to speed up the establishment of lasting peace and national accord in Angola.

As a permanent member of the Security Council and a state which is observing the settlement process in Angola, the Russian Federation supports the world community's appeal to the Angolan parties to adhere strictly to the accords that have been reached and to carry out all political, legal, and organizational measures necessary to prepare and hold the elections on schedule, the most important measures being the demobilization of troops and the extension of the power of the central administration to cover the whole territory of the country.

Moscow hopes that the government of the People's Republic of Angola and the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] leadership will display goodwill and mutual understanding for the sake of a successful settlement of the Angolan conflict, the document notes.

Kozyrev Briefs Reporters on Helsinki Talks

LD2603135692 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0047 GMT 26 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Nikolay Vukolov and Aleksandr Surikov]

[Text] Helsinki, 25 Mar (TASS)—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev answered questions from a group of Russian journalists covering the fourth meeting of representatives of CSCE participant states in Helsinki today.

Commenting on the course of the meeting, the minister said a good start had been made on the preparations for the European summit conference to be held here in July. There is evidence of a desire for this forum to end not merely with the adoption of another declaration, but rather to signify a shift to a new stage in the Helsinki process. Over the 17 years since the first Helsinki conference, a whole mass of very useful and important principles, norms, and documents have been developed. In my view, the second stage should be characterized by the creation of mechanisms for their practical implementation. One could express this concisely by the statement: from principles to mechanisms. We suggested this idea in Prague at the Council of Ministers' session and for several months have been talking it over with the Americans, French, Germans, and representatives of other states. Now it has gained broad support, if not even a consensus.

It is true, A. Kozyrev continued, that there are fears that the CSCE will not be up to this challenge and will, as it were, remain at the former stage. It seems to me, however, that the CSCE still has a chance to move to a new qualitative stage. Despite all the doubts and legitimate apprehensions among the participants, a desire for precisely this does prevail. Such a move would allow the CSCE to gain a second wind. One of the reasons prompting this is the fact that many new states have joined the CSCE, including Muslim states in Asia. It is, therefore, very important that they do not slip from the context of CSCE norms and principles and come under the predominant influence of Asian winds, but rather move with the stream of the European process. I think that our direct national interest related to Russia's participation in the CSCE lies here—in making efforts to ensure that the former Union republics do not move away from Russia but, with our help, are to some extent drawn toward the European process. Our main interest is, of course, to continue to use the CSCE to integrate Russia fully into the community of democratic states.

The problems of conflicts have been actively discussed in Helsinki, the minister went on to note. A decision has been passed on holding an international conference in Minsk on a settlement in Nagorno-Karabakh. I consider this a useful idea. It is important, however, that the conference should not become yet another way of avoiding direct actions in a region where blood is being shed and where serious measures need to be taken by getting into organizational preparations.

Concerning the idea of setting up CSCE peacekeeping forces, A. Kozyrev recalled that only a few months ago this had looked utopian. Now, on the other hand, most of the delegations in Helsinki have voiced support for it. In the minister's view, during the implementation of this idea it would be possible to use the infrastructures at the disposal of NATO, such as airfields. Moreover, it is not a matter of sending NATO troops. These will be CSCE forces and the decision to send them will be adopted within the framework of the European Conference.

The minister responded in the affirmative to the question of whether the emphasis in his speech at the Helsinki meeting on the problems of ethnic minorities was an attempt to use the prestige of the CSCE to influence the situation in the republics of the former USSR. We indeed, he said, want to make use of the civilized, legal, and political machinery of the CSCE to exert pressure so human rights are safeguarded, including in the Baltic region. I spoke openly about this both from the rostrum at the conference and during meetings with the foreign ministers. As for the problem of the withdrawal of troops from the Baltic states, this exists and we recognize that. We understand that if a sovereign state is against the presence of someone else's troops on their territory, sooner or later they have to leave. However, first you have to take into account the interests of preserving stability, and second you cannot forget that these are human beings and their social circumstances have to be taken care of.

Japan Disputes Troops Withdrawal From Kurils

LD2503183892 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0245 GMT 24 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vasiliy Golovin]

[Text] Tokyo, 24 Mar (TASS)—The Japanese Defense Agency "has not registered" any significant withdrawal of troops from the southern part of the Kuril islands, despite the fact that last week, during his visit to Tokyo, Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev officially announced significant reductions of the contingent deployed there. This was announced to ITAR-TASS by a spokesman of the Japanese Defense Agency's press service.

During his stay in Tokyo, Andrey Kozyrev stated that the 30 percent reduction of troops in the South Kurils, announced last year as a measure of strengthening trust between the two countries, was completed. According to him, the division deployed there has been transformed into a brigade. According to the Russian side, there are 7,000 servicemen on the islands, not counting border guards. However, the representative of the Japanese Defense Agency reiterated to ITAR-TASS that even after Kozyrev's visit his agency's official standpoint is that there is still a division deployed on the South Kurils over which Japan has territorial claims. Here the military estimate its size to be about 10,000 people. Japanese Defense Agency circles claim that aircraft and vessels monitoring the South Kurils have not noticed any significant withdrawal of troops or military equipment, and according to them, the maximum reduction can be of no more than several hundred people. This version, backed up by sources in the Defense Agency, was widely reported in the national press. However the influential NIHON KEIZAI SHIMBUN newspaper sees in Japanese Defense Agency statements concern that pressure may be increased to "contain" the military budget if

Japan adopts the view that former USSR troops, which had served as a symbol of the "northern threat," are being reduced.

Opposition circles predict that the military agency will put off until the end official confirmation of the present Russian statement. However, it seems that the Japanese Defense Agency has already prepared backup positions for itself, by declaring that any partial reductions in troops on the South Kurils are nonsensical, and that all troops must withdraw from the islands which Japan believes to be its own historical territory.

Sakhalin Leader Discusses Kuril Islands Issue

OW2603164292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1330 GMT 26 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Chairman of the Sakhalin government Anatoliy Aksyonov has confirmed the Sakhalin authorities' position on the disputable Kuril islands. These islands must not be given to Japan, they think.

Anatoliy Aksyonov, who accompanied Russian Foreign minister Andrey Kozyrev during his trip to China, South Korea and Japan, told the newspaper SVOBODNY SAKHALIN (Free Sakhalin) that the opinion of the majority of the South Kuril residents was not in favour of Japan and that this factor should be taken into account. He admitted, at the same time, that Russia and Japan should conclude a peace treaty as soon as possible in order to confirm the official border between the two states.

Japan Opposes Russian-ROK Fishing Agreement

LD2503222792 Moscow TASS in English 0936 GMT 25 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vyacheslav Bantin]

[Text] Tokyo, March 25 TASS—Japan demanded Seoul reject the recently reached agreement with Moscow granting Koreans fishing rights in the waters surrounding the "northern territories", Japanese Deputy Foreign Minister Hisashi Owada told the South Korean Ambassador to Tokyo here on Wednesday [25 March].

Japanese reacted negatively to the agreement, seeing it could affect future relations between South Korea and Japan, Owada emphasised.

Sakhalin Leader on Yeltsin's Visit to Japan

OW2703134592 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1102 GMT 27 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Japan feels somewhat euphoric about Boris Yeltsin's visit to Japan next September, the way it felt on the eve of Mikhail Gorbachev's visit in the spring of 1989, Chairman of the Sakhalin Regional Council Anatoly Aksyonov told IF [INTERFAX]. A few days ago, Anatoliy Aksyonov visited Tokyo as a member of the Russian delegation led by Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev.

Tokyo expects the Russian president to accept Article 9 of the 1956 Declaration on the transfer of the islands of Shikotan and Khabomai to Japan, and start drafting a Russian-Japanese peace treaty.

Anatoliy Aksyonov believes that in the current situation the Russian president will have to take into account the public opinion and the position of the Russian parliament.

Chechen Prime Minister Visits Japan

PM2503173592 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 6

[Report by Sergey Agafonov: "Debut for Chechen Diplomacy in Japan"]

[Text] Tokyo—The preparation for the visit and the actual visit to Tokyo by the Russian foreign minister have pushed back deep into the shadows one notable event—the arrival in Japan of Yaraga Mamudayev, prime minister of independent Chechnya, accompanied by three bodyguards.

This was the debut for Chechen diplomacy in remote Japan, and quite a long debut—the guest spent over two weeks on the Japanese islands. The visit was unofficial, since Tokyo has not recognized the independence of the mountain republic, and the prime minister himself arrived at the private invitation of "civil support organizations." It was not possible to establish what kind of organizations these are but Mamudayev's program was compiled quite tightly and skillfully. The guest visited virtually all the biggest Japanese trade corporations and a number of leading companies producing electrical equipment and met with the managers of department stores and other businessmen. The aim of the trip was to seek possible partners for setting up economic sovereign ties between Chechnya and Japan.

The 40-year-old prime minister, who also holds the post of chairman of the republican economic committee, did not arrive in Japan empty-handed. Letters of recommendation of a kind Mamudayev brought with him messages from General Dudayev addressed to the emperor of Japan and Prime Minister Miyazawa and also specific proposals for the sale of "competitive Chechen output." People involved with the visit say that this output means weapons, petroleum, and petroleum refining products (mainly oil and lubricants), timber, and a package of proposals for the development of tourism in the mountain region.

As for business contacts, to judge by available information apart from thorough talks nothing of note happened and not a single contract was signed. It is true that

Mamudayev probably received something from a number of large corporations in that Japanese experts will be sent in the near future to Chechnya to familiarize themselves with the republic's economic potential on the spot, but when this "near future" will come is unclear.

The political contacts were even more modest, but nonetheless took place. Although officially Japan does not recognize Chechnya's independence, Mamudayev achieved a visit to the Japanese Foreign Ministry. That event, the newspapers here write, took place 18 March, a day before Kozyrev's arrival in Tokyo, in an atmosphere close to secrecy. The meeting took place in the Foreign Ministry building but not in the talks room but in the cafeteria on the second floor. Obviously because of the turmoil caused by Kozyrev's forthcoming visit, the Japanese diplomats had forgotten to notify the Russian Embassy of the "informal contacts" with the prime minister of the autonomous body in the mountains, whose independence Russia has as yet not recognized either.

The embassy itself, incidentally, learned of the guest's arrival only after newspaper items in which Mamudayev disavowed the "colonial past" and promised to cut off petroleum supplies if Russia behaves badly toward Chechnya. One such interview was published 20 March in the newspaper SANKEI SHIMBUN while Russian-Japanese talks were under way in Tokyo. There was no reaction to the item. It is to be supposed it was not reported to Kozyrev...

Diplomat Discusses Settlement in Middle East

OW2503174892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1519 GMT 25 Mar 92

[Report by M. Mayorov and I. Porshnev from "Diplomatic Panorama"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] As cochairs of the world process, Russia and the U.S. maintain virtually daily contacts with a view to organizing another round of bilateral talks on the Middle East, said a prominent member of Russia's Foreign Ministry.

Their working groups, he told DP's ["Diplomatic Panorama"] correspondent, intend to hold another meeting in May to discuss the various problems faced by the region. The group on refugees is likely to gather in Ottawa, the group on economic development in Brussels, the one on arms control in Washington, the one on water resources in Vienna, on environmental protection in Tokyo, on assistance in Lisbon.

The process of settlement in the region proceeds "painfully", the diplomat conceded. "No dramatic breakthroughs have been made". Nevertheless it would be wrong to presume that the peace process is on the decline. "Some people simply overestimated the prospects of its fast progress", said the Russian Foreign Ministry official.

In fact the process of negotiations is just beginning. It's essential that firm foundations were laid for it at the meetings in Madrid and Moscow.

According to the diplomat, the "outside" factors, such as the recent destruction of Israel's Embassy in Argentina, pose a considerable danger to onward movement in the process of talks. "They cannot fail to influence the mood of participants in the talks". Nevertheless the parties concerned are willing to go on with their search for mutually acceptable solutions, which is "an extremely positive factor", the diplomat said.

Credits to India for Weapons Purchase Agreed

LD2603133892 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 26 Mar 92

[Report by correspondent Nikolay Paklin from Delhi]

[Text] A visit to India by a delegation from the Russian Ministry of Foreign Economic Ties' Directorate for Military-Technical Cooperation has completed a visit to India. As correspondent Nikolay Paklin reports from Delhi, this visit was concluded successfully.

[Paklin] During difficult talks in Delhi, the delegation succeeded in unblocking the credit machinery serving Russian-Indian defense cooperation. For a long time the former Soviet Union had been giving India credits for the purchase of Soviet weapons on exceptionally advantageous conditions. However, on the collapse of the Soviet Union and in connection with the overall deterioration in the economic situation, Russia found itself unable to offer credits on the previous terms. The credit machinery ceased to function. Military supplies came to a halt.

The Russian leadership is exceptionally interested in continuing the traditional military cooperation with India, and despite the difficult economic situation has found a way to allocate funds to provide credits for India for the purchase of weapons from Russia. True, the conditions for the Russian credits are tighter than before and the amount of the credits, which at the request of the Indian side is being kept secret, has been set in U.S. dollars. However, the payments will be made in Indian rupees.

Russia will spend them in India to purchase Indian goods, first and foremost consumer goods and foodstuffs. A proportion of the items supplied to India will be paid for in cash. This money will also go toward the purchase of goods which will go directly to Russian defense enterprises. Nonetheless, the agreement which has been signed is mutually beneficial. Among other things, it considerably expands opportunities for Indian exports to Russia.

Tula To Sell Weapons to Lithuania, Georgia

LD2503214192 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0600 GMT 25 Mar 92

[Editorial Report] Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian at 0600 GMT on 25 March carries a two-minute report by correspondent Sergey Novikov from Tula on agreements for arms sales by Tula to Lithuania and Georgia.

Novikov says: "The Russian Government allowed the defense industry enterprises of only three towns to conclude direct agreements on supplying their output to CIS countries and abroad. These towns are Yekaterinburg, Severodvinsk, and Tula. The first agreement on the delivery of Tula weapons to Lithuania has already been signed. The order was placed by the Ministry of Internal Affairs of that state, which has a friendly attitude to Tula oblast. In exchange for weapons Lithuania will provide foodstuffs, garments and textiles, electrical goods, and construction materials.

"Lithuania is to pay in hard currency for 30 percent of the weapons. If weapons were to be purchased in the United States they would have had to pay in hard currency for all 100 percent.

"A similar agreement is to be signed next between Tula and Georgia, again, under license from the Russian Government and with no middlemen. The Tula side has already signed the agreement. It is currently lying on Prime Minister Sigua's desk waiting to be signed. That land of sunshine has already promised to supply Tula residents with sugar, tea, fruits, vegetables, and a lot of wine."

Novikov adds that Latvia, Estonia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Ukraine are willing to acquire Tula weapons and concludes: "In general, the government has allowed Tula residents to sell their weapons to anyone anywhere, except Yugoslavia and Iraq".

Military Inspectors Arrive in Norway

LD2503201192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1055 GMT 25 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Loskutov]

[Text] Oslo, 25 Mar (TASS)—A group of Russian servicemen arrived today in the town of Tromsoe to inspect the Team Work-92 exercises of the NATO Joint Armed Forces being held in northern Norway. Taking part are about 45,000 servicemen from 11 NATO countries. The check on the military activity is being carried out in accordance with the agreements on confidence-building measures and security in Europe, signed by the CSCE member-countries.

A communique of the Norwegian Foreign Ministry, distributed today, notes that the working inspection will last up to two days. The Russian Federation Government asked Norway on 23 March for the inspection, which, under the provisions of the Vienna document of 1990, the side to be inspected does not have the right to refuse. The request was satisfied. A similar inspection of military activity was carried out by Norwegian inspectors in 1990 in the area of the Kola Pensinsula.

Aircraft Redeployed From Lithuania to Komi

PM2603122792 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 24 Mar 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast: Video report from Syktyvkar by Ye. Kuznetsov, I. Poshumenskiy, and I. Surov]

[Text] Quietly, unnoticed, and in the tradition of military secrecy, a subunit of aircraft equipped with a modern AWACS-type system has been transferred from the independent state of Lithuania to the sovereign Republic of Komi. The military airmen have swapped the European city of Siauliai for the polar depths of northern Russia.

[Unidentified airman] When we were about to move base from Siauliai a great many generals arrived. They offered us the moon. So we came here.

[Second unidentified airman] We live in a geologists' hostel. The prices are terrible—477 rubles for a bed. There are four people to a room: That is R477 each.

[Kuznetsov] In Russia a federal treaty is being prepared for signing, but meanwhile the air subunit's officers are convinced that there's no way there will be local armed forces in Russia.

Zhirinovskiy Suggests Use of Cuban Mercenaries

OW2703135092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1102 GMT 27 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Liberal-Democratic Party's leader Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, who has made a brief trip to the Russian president's homeland Yekaterinburg, said while there that if he came to power, he would use Cuban mercenaries in the hot spots of Russia. He told students of the Ural Polytechnic Institute that Cuban mercenaries would be airlifted to Russia in exchange for large lots of weapons.

Poltoranin Comments on Federation Treaty

MK2603121592 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 26 Mar 92 p 2

[Tatyana Malkina report: "Mikhail Poltoranin: 'Russia Must Not Be Like Mumu [as published].' So a Single CIS Media Space Is Necessary, a Single Economic Space Is Inevitable, and a Single Political Space Is Desirable"]

[Text] Yesterday, Russian Vice Premier Mikhail Poltoranin announced at a news conference that the Russian Government's prime task is to create a stratum of

owners. The strategic guidelines, in his view, are the "restructuring" of the entire economy, which is warped by "CIS-processes," and also privatization, substantial changes to the tax system, and the building of a "Russian state" [Gosudarstvo Rossiyskoye]. All this, the press minister believes, is now being held up one way or another by the tactical problem of adopting the Russian Constitution. Mikhail Poltoranin stated that, out of the two possible types of state structure—a presidential republic or a parliamentary republic—the Rumyantsev-Khasbulatov hybrid draft opts for the parliamentary type. This, in Poltoranin's opinion, not only does not promote but actually presents an extreme impediment to implementation of the radical reforms that everyone wants. The proposed constitution, the vice premier believes, presupposes the destruction of the emergent presidential structures and places Russia in the power of the soviets, which, to quote Poltoranin's restrained remark, "as is well known, have brought us where we are today." Mikhail Poltoranin disclosed that the heads of administrations, who met recently under Valeriy Makharadze, are perplexed and extremely worried at the curtailment of their powers. The vice premier himself believes that the soviets are extremely conservative, since they consist of party revanchists who aim to prevent any reforms, privatization, and so forth at all. "However," he made the proviso, "the Congress will decide everything... I think we will find points of agreement. There are people with various opinions in parliament..." Mikhail Poltoranin reminded his audience, which, among others, has a tendency to be forever shouting "The government! The government!", that the government, as the executive, is merely called upon to implement parliament's strategic decisions.

Speaking about Russia's national-state future, the vice premier, who is convinced in particular that the Constitutional Court's verdict regarding Tatarstan should certainly be implemented, remarked: "I think time will show that Russia has interests that do not allow the government merely to watch the splits and breakaways that are taking place... Now that Tatarstan has plucked up courage, others too may think: 'Maybe we too could get away with something?!'" Poltoranin said perhaps it is now time to create certain power structures to unite the breakaway republics. In his opinion, in the government there are supporters of "certain strong-arm methods," although he himself is not among them. Moreover, the vice premier is convinced that President Shaymiyev of Tatarstan certainly must keep his promise and sign the Federation Treaty 31 March one way or another.

Mikhail Poltoranin reported that the joint session in Uralsk of the Russian and Kazakh Governments, which in no way "should be regarded as a separate deal," was extremely successful and ended in the signing of a communique, a protocol, and a number of documents on extremely close cooperation between the two states which anyone who wants to is hospitably invited to join in. Moreover, an interstate commission to monitor the fulfillment of accords was set up in Uralsk and should certainly not be regarded as a supragovernmental organ. The Kazakh Government and Nazarbayev, Poltoranin added, approved the Russian cabinet memorandum devoted to the IMF, agreed to support Gaydar, and even sent their own "supporting" [prisoyedinitelnyy] letter to the IMF. The minister believes that even Vitold Fokin is looking at similar prospects, while Belarussian Premier Kebich "merely wants to act within the framework of this memorandum, his only reservation being the timetable for unfreezing oil prices." Mikhail Poltoranin is convinced that the unfreezing will take place in June or so, because "...we agreed to give all states on the territory of the former USSR the opportunity to finish the (spring—T.M.) sowing."

While agreeing with a journalist's claim that the situation regarding the future Federation Treaty is reminiscent of the August situation regarding the abortive Union Treaty, Poltoranin assured his audience: Yeltsin, at any rate, is not going to go to Foros and is also taking other preventive measures because, while remaining on the peaceful path, he realizes that the mounting tendencies toward the disintegration of Russian land and executive power will simply force the government to take extreme measures.

Asked whether everything he had said was the government's official viewpoint, Mikhail Poltoranin replied that he was appearing at the press conference simultaneously in several capacities: vice premier, press minister, journalist, and citizen.

Adviser Criticizes Ukraine Economic Policy

PM2703120692 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 26 Mar 92 p 2

[I. Savvateyeva account of comments by Russian Government economic adviser A. Ulyukayev: "But It Is Better Not To Drop Bombshells in Your Own Backyard. The Situation is Commented on by Russian Government Economic Adviser A. Ulyukayev"; this follows a report entitled "L. Kravchuk's Report Was a Bombshell"]

[Text] The economic situation in Ukraine is deteriorating and there are no serious reforms being carried out. I think this is what prompted the appearance of the document [Kravchuk's report on the "Fundamentals of Ukrainian National Economic Policy"].

As for Russia's usurpation of the Union financial and banking system, Russia has always proposed a banking union and joint control of the printing press. The only condition is that decisions should depend not on the number of members of the banking union, but on the share of the capital invested by them. The printing press is a burden to us and we do not want to monopolize it. As for the prices race and the possibility of hyperinflation, it depends primarily on the credit policy. Inflation is driven not by the printing press, but by credits for inefficient production. The Russian government is conducting a very tough credit policy, so the charge of provoking hyperinflation is unjust. Less money has been

issued recently as well: It was 23 billion in February, whereas it was 29 billion in December!

The document proposes the immediate introduction of Ukraine's own currency. We have nothing against that in principle. The main thing is that civilized procedures should be observed. Partners must be informed of the monetary reform timeframe. The future of the means of payment that are in current use on the territory of the republic must be decided jointly. Introducing one's own currency is not easy anyway. It is not just a matter of printing bank notes. Cash and banking services will be needed and a network of correspondent accounts will have to be established. In the Baltic countries, for example, preparations for the introduction of national currencies have been much more thorough than in Ukraine but for a number of technical reasons they have not managed to do it yet. The introduction of a national currency without the partners' agreement would mean for Ukraine the discontinuation of of all trade links for two-three months.

The plan is to reduce imports of products from countries in the ruble zone and redirect home products to new markets. In principle, that is what countries under balance of payments pressure, Russia included, are doing. The question is how quickly the measures can be implemented. If Ukraine expects to do it overnight, then a number of production facilities there will simply come to a halt. What does the republic intend to offer to the new markets? They have practically no raw material commodities, particularly fuel and power complex commodities. The world market will not accept products that are processed to a high degree: The quality is not suitable. There are nonferrous metals and metal pipes, of course; ferrous metal in pigs can be sold, as can some coking coal. This will obviously not be enough to be able to purchase the imported goods that will be needed once deliveries from Russia cease. Nor will there be any currency from the introduction of various fiscal measures from transportation of freight across Ukrainian territory and exploitation of the monopoly on the production of certain types of products. Russia will adopt similar measures in response. This policy is counterproductive.

The introduction of a national currency and the possibility of ensuring internal convertibility for it is a separate matter. The experiment involving the introduction of coupons has shown that their rate constantly falls. What do they intend to base internal convertibility on? The Ukrainian balance of payments is in a far worse state than the Russian balance of payments. Ukrainian enterprises' demand for currency is very great but the supply of it is minimal. There neither is nor will be a stabilization fund in Ukraine because international financial organizations are linking the possible provision of hard currency to the paymnent of part of the CIS foreign debt. Ukraine's separate stance on this question has always worried foreign investors. So there is only one possible fate for the currency; rapid devaluation. One should not expect income from reexporting goods either. They want to buy products from us for rubles and sell them to other countries for hard currency. This policy directly affects Russia's interests. Naturally it cannot allow this.

The consequences of the measures proposed in the document could be disastrous for Ukraine. Naturally, it would be unpleasant for Russia, too. It is not so much the introduction of a national currency that is dangerous—because sensible holders of rubles will continue to throw in their lot with them—as the severing of economic links and the problems of transport maintenance. The port of Ilichevsk is very important to Russia. Major pipelines and railroads cross Ukraine.

But one cannot help thinking that it is either blackmail or an exploratory maneuver. Let us launch a trial balloon and see what the reaction is.

Tyumen Exchanges Representative With Ukraine

LD2603122792 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 26 Mar 92

[Text] The agreement to exchange missions between Tyumen Oblast and the Republic of Ukraine, reached during recent talks between Ukrainian Prime Minister Vitold Fokin and Yuriy Shafranik, head of administration of Tyumen Oblast, has been implemented.

Chinese Say Border Checkpoints Ill-Equipped

LD2503150892 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1238 GMT 25 Mar 92

[From the "Military News" section]

[Text] Moscow—Chinese specialists think that Russian checkpoints are poorly equipped and are ill-prepared for the sharp increase in the load. Chinese specialists came to this conclusion following the joint tour by members of the Russian and Chinese chief border missions' apparatuses of checkpoints in the Far East, during which they looked into how to upgrade control from both sides of the border.

Khabarovsk To Trade Freely With PRC City

LD2503191192 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 24 Mar 92

[Text] Residents of the Russian city of Khabarovsk and the Chinese city of Fuyuan have received an opportunity of free trade and exchange of goods.

Their authorities have agreed to open a joint market on a neutral island on the Ussuri River. No documents will be required to land on the island.

Labor Policy Agreement Signed With Finland

LD2603174992 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1200 GMT 26 Mar 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Russian-Finnish relations have developed further. An agreement on labor policy and a protocol on the exchange of staff on placement have been signed in Helsinki. What does this mean?

An exchange of information materials, delegations of experts, scientific workers, and also staff on placement is provided for. I would like to say a few words in particular about the latter. Those on placement have the aim of acquiring and furthering their professional and language skills. On the Soviet side the persons on placement could be graduates from middle schools or middle, specialized, and higher educational establishments with a command of a foreign language—English, German, Swedish, or Finnish. The duration of the placement could be up to one year.

These documents were signed on behalf of Russia by Aleksandr Shokhin, deputy prime minister and minister of labor and employment.

House of German Economy Opens in St. Petersburg

LD2503215492 Moscow TASS in English 2025 GMT 24 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Nikolay Kondratenko and Lev Frolov]

[Text] St. Petersburg, March 24 TASS—The House of German Economy opened here today is to contribute to the interaction between the German and Russian economies, as well as the consolidation of relations between manufacturers and entrepreneurs from the two states.

The house was opened on the initiative of the German business community and the local authorities.

"Now that Russia is switching over to the market economy, the need for such a house and mutual contacts is especially clear," said Petersburg Mayor Anatoly Sobchak. "We believe in success of the house and are ready to contribute to it."

The house is located in the building of the former East German Consulate General. Speaking at a news conference there today President of the German Industrial and Trade Congress Hans-Peter Still described the opening of the house an important event in bilateral business cooperation.

The German side is interested in the expansion of long-term relations, he said. It does not intend to leave the Russian market although the level of cooperation there has a tendency towards decline.

The German exports to the states of the former Soviet Union has reduced by one third and their import to Germany by 20 per cent. Nevertheless, Germany believes in the dynamics of the development of bilateral contacts. It plans to help Russian partners in the privatization of trade and hotel service, conversion and the improvement of transport services, said still.

The House of Germany Economy will accommodate symposia, experts' meetings and exhibitions, as well as offices and bureaus of German firms.

Humanitarian Aid Arrives From Germany

LD2603102592 Moscow TASS in English 1326 GMT 25 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Nikolay Zagnoyko]

[Text] Lipetsk, March 25 TASS—A caravan of trucks with humanitarian aid from Germany arrived today in the city of Lipetsk, central Russia. The goods include clothes for families with children, toys and sweets. Representatives of the mayor of the German city Cottbus not only review the delivery but also talked with officials of Lipetsk about further economic and cultural exchange.

The cities of Cottbus and Lipetsk have a history of good relationships, in the fields of sport, culture and work. The new political situation in Russia and Germany, Cottbus belonged to former East Germany, will open new ways of cooperation, both sides said.

Taiwan Aid Ship Docks in Vladivostok

PM2703091792 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1200 GMT 23 Mar 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast: Video report by L. Savitskiy from Vladivostok]

[Text] [Savitskiy] This event is a "first" on at least accounts. Never before has a ship under a Taiwanese flag entered a port in our country. Nor has Vladivostok ever received such a large consignment of humanitarian aid. Ten thousand tonnes of rice—considerably more than Maritime Kray's annual allocation from central stocks—have been delivered by the MS Ever Splendor.

[Unidentified Taiwanese official, speaking in English with superimposed Russian] A total of 100,000 tonnes of rice will be delivered to your country from Taiwan. This is our gift to your people. In general, this marks the beginning of large-scale cooperation between our countries.

[Unidentified captain of Taiwanese ship, speaking in English with superimposed Russian] I am very happy, for a seaman there is no greater honor than to be the first to dock his ship in an unfamiliar port of a foreign country.

Three Cities To Receive Food Aid From EC

LD2603223592 Moscow TASS in English 2200 GMT 26 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shashkov]

[Text] Brussels, March 27 TASS—Gratuitous food aid, the European Communities are sending to the population of Moscow and St. Petersburg, will be delivered to three other Russian cities—Nizhni Novgorod, Saratov and Chelyabinsk.

Each city will soon receive 1,000 tonnes of dry milk, 500 tonnes of children's food and 1,000 tonnes of sugar, a representative of the European Communities' commission said here on Thursday.

The European Communities has just allocated the second package of credits to an amount of 100 million ECU [European Currency Unit]. The first credit to the same amount enabled the supply of 13,000 tonnes of dry milk, 12,500 tonnes of butter and 47,200 tonnes of meat to Moscow and St. Petersburg.

Federation Affairs

Yeltsin Abolishes Existing Defense Structures

MK2703080192 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 27 Mar 92 p 2

[Pavel Felgengauer report under the "Army" rubric: "General Kobets No Longer State Counselor. Big Changes in Russian Defense Structures"]

[Text] The Russian Defense Ministry is still only in the process of formation, but President Yeltsin has already disbanded all the defense structures that existed before. Decree No. 300 on Abolishing the Service of the Russian Federation President's State Counselor for Defense Questions "in view of the creation of the Russian Defense Ministry" was signed 25 March. Army General Konstantin Kobets, the former state counselor, "is placed at the disposal of the CIS Joint Armed Forces High Command (by agreement with Marshal Shaposhnikov." Staffers of the "state counselor's service" are to be dismissed "in accordance with existing legislation. Essentially General Kobets is at present "out of a job." However, lately there have been proposals on creating in the CIS an "interstate committee for military policy and reform," and President Yeltsin has given preliminary approval to this plan. If such a committee is eventually set up, General Kobets will certainly be one of the main contenders for the post. So his dismissal from the Russian service may prove to be just a transitional step to "interstate" service.

President Yeltsin has also signed a decree abolishing the Russian State Committee for Defense. However, the State Committee's former chairman, Colonel General Pavel Grachev, has already been appointed first deputy at the Russian Defense Ministry and is now coordinating all practical work to set up the new ministry. An interdepartmental commission for the formation of the Russian Defense Ministry made up of representatives of the departments concerned is now being set up to help him. Clearly, another first deputy defense minister (a civilian, whose precise identity is not yet known) will be appointed in the very near future.

Then mere deputies, and then chiefs of directorates will be appointed, and the parliamentary Security and Defense Committee is already discussing the possible structure of the Russian General Staff. However, the fate of the existing General Staff and the USSR Defense Ministry, which, though renamed, is still perfectly real, has still by no means been decided. There may not be enough room for two General Staffs and two Defense Ministries in one city.

New Ministry Deputy Appointed

MK2603182192 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 26 Mar 92 p 1

[P.F. report under the "News in Brief" rubric: "Yeltsin Has a New First Deputy"]

[Text] The Russian Defense Ministry, which in its second week of existence has just one staffer (Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin) has now finally begun to expand. The new Defense Ministry will be located on the Leningrad (St. Petersburg) Highway in the former headquarters building of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact countries. Yesterday Colonel General Pavel Grachev, who has been appointed Boris Yeltsin's first deputy defense minister, visited the former headquarters building, which currently houses the rear services headquarters, and looked around the premises. It is reported that the rear services personnel have been given a month to leave.

(Pavel Sergeyevich Grachev: Before the August coup, he was commander in chief of the Airborne Troops; later he was chairman of the Russian State Committee for Defense Questions and Marshal Shaposhnikov's first deputy.)

Yeltsin, Radical Democrats Meet in Kremlin

LD2703134192 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 0957 GMT 27 Mar 92

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] Moscow—Russia's President Boris Yeltsin has described the draft constitution of the republic, which is to be submitted to a Congress of People's Deputies as pro-socialist, which it would be unreasonable to adopt.

The president made his position known on March 26 during a meeting at the Kremlin with deputies of a parliamentary group, Radical Democrats. According to a group coordinator, Marina Salie, President Yeltsin thinks this document cannot be adopted even in principle.

'Exchange of Views' Begun

LD2603185492 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 26 Mar 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Correspondent V. Budnikov] In the Kremlin today, Boris Yeltsin met Russian deputies from the Radical Democrat group. They congratulated him on a special date: it is three years since Boris Nikolayevich became a USSR people's deputy. [video shows Yeltsin entering room, then presiding over meeting]

[Begin Yeltsin recording] For the first time, Democrats, having accepted into their ranks, as it were, a member of the opposition, brought him through as leader of Russia—with some participation on his part. [end recording]

[Budnikov] After glorious recollections, Yeltsin took the appeal of the Radical Democrats, and an exchange of views began. Some think that the Democrats' chances of attracting to their side a majority of the deputies at the forthcoming congress are slight, partly because they have lost the habit of fighting with skill rather than numbers.

[Begin Yeltsin recording] It seems to me that we have now lost the taste for such subtle, tactical work. You understand? Since we gained victory, as it were, since then we have somehow been calming down all the time, and we seem to have a certain euphoria, although we should have parted with euphoria a long time ago. [end recording]

[Budnikov] Apart from the Radical Democrats, Boris Nikolayevich has already spent some time with the representatives of many groups. In his opinion, however, there is not one that is clearly stronger than the others.

Threats to Democracy Cited

LD2703001192 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 26 Mar 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Russian President Boris Yeltsin has been conducting an active precongress campaign in the last few days. He has often surprised his opponents with unexpected decisions. Maybe he will manage to forestall expected blows from both right and left now as well. Today he held a meeting with the Radical Democrats. Boris Nikolayevich was reminded that he was elected a USSR people's deputy exactly three years ago.

[Begin Yeltsin recording] Three years ago on 26 March—in a most difficult struggle, after what I would call a real burst of democratic fervor—there was this victory, a very important event. Now there is no Union and there are no USSR people's deputies, but I think this piece of history, the emergence of true democracy, will remain for the rest of my life. [end recording]

[Correspondent V. Perfilyev] That is how this meeting began, with recollections of events three years ago. Now for what it was really about: As far as one can tell, the Radicals' theses for the April congress have already been prepared.

The president was given a statement from the group containing, in particular, a warning of the existence of a threat to the future of the Russian people. The Radicals believe that the threat to democracy and freedom in Russia is actually being intensified by the political crisis that has broken out, a crisis based on inconsistency in the actions of the executive authorities and their inability to assess current events correctly. The nomenklatura have no need to stage a coup, the statement says: Power remains in their hands, as it was in the past. The Radicals demanded immediate, tough actions from the president.

We will probably find out only at the congress itself whether Boris Nikolayevich managed today to persuade the Radicals to tone down the assessments in their statement.

Faction 'Flight' Predicted

LD2603191692 Moscow TASS in English 1831 GMT 26 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow March 26 TASS— Russian President Boris Yeltsin believes the upcoming Congress of People's Deputies, scheduled for April 6, will witness the fight of deputy factions for those who have not joined any faction.

Yeltsin told today's meeting with representatives of the "Radical Democrats" deputy factions, these very 250-270 non-aligned parliament members will determine the outcome of the congress, which, in its turn, may determine the fate of Russia.

Speaking of the meeting at a news conference, the president's acting press secretary Aleksey Novikov noted Yeltsin's opinion that the Russian defence minister should have two deputies—a civilian and a military.

The president also told the faction representatives he has submitted a proposal to the Russian Supreme Soviet today on an increase of the minimum level of pension up to 650 roubles.

Democratic Coalition Supported

OW2603193992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1853 GMT 26 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At his Thursday [26 March] meeting with the parliamentary group of Radical Democrats President Yeltsin supported its idea to set up a powerful coalition of radical democratic political parties and movements.

According to the head of the presidential press service Aleksey Novikov, Boris Yeltsin voiced readiness to support by his personal influence the formation of a coalition capable of guaranteeing steady majority backing for reforms at the Congress of People's Deputies and in parliament.

According to the spokesman, the president regarded with understanding the proposals concerning the economic reform, admitting that the "delay with demonopolization" is a mistake on the part of the cabinet. He reaffirmed that he will not betray the government under any circumstances. The head of state thinks that one of the main tasks of the democratic camp before the congress is to win over the wavering deputies who according to some estimates amount to 250-270 of the 900 participants in tne coming congress.

The president evaded discussion of the role of the present leadership of parliament in organizing the congress saying that it is a delicate matter.

During the discussion of the Russian defence doctrine Boris Yeltsin said the Defence Minister should have two deputies, one civilian, another military. Evidently he did not mean the present moment when he is the temporary head of the ministry himself.

The president said he suggested to the parliament that minimal pensions be raised to 650 roubles.

Yeltsin Meeting with Parties 'Strengthens' Role

PM2603143192 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by Georgiy Ivanov-Smolenskiy: "Democratic Parties' Leaders Inclined to Support Yeltsin"]

[Text] On 24 March in his Kremlin residence Russian President Boris Yeltsin met with leaders and members of the leadership of the Russian democratic parties—the "Democratic Russia" Movement, the Democratic Party of Russia, the International Movement for Democratic Reforms, the Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms, the People's Party of Russia, the Republican Party of the Russian Federation, and others. In all representatives of 16 parties and movements took part in the meeting, which was also attended by S. Stankevich, Russian Federation state adviser for political questions.

Obviously, the meeting was planned as an important step in the president's intensive preparation for the forthcoming sixth congress of Russian Federation people's deputies. Loyal to his repeatedly tested strategy and tactics, B. Yeltsin, as before at tense, critical moments, is preparing the ground to ensure that in an extreme situation, if he does not manage to find a common language with the opposition, he can appeal to the democratic section of the people who elected him. In that sense the meeting with the leaders of the democratic parties, which already have an entirely specific political base in society, is of course a correct move which strengthens the president's position.

Opening the meeting, B. Yeltsin said that the meeting which had taken place in Kiev was the most fruitful of all previous meetings of the heads of the CIS countries.

The present situation within Russia itself was described by the president, with his usual frankness, as difficult. A particularly hard ordeal awaits its citizens at the end of May and in June, when prices for energy sources will be released, which will entail one more leap in other prices. But this ordeal must be endured since approaching world prices for energy sources is an unconditional demand of the IMF. At the same time B. Yeltsin noted that there are already some hopeful symptoms. Thus, in his view the spring field work will proceed normally and Russia here may even help other states of the Commonwealth.

As for the political situation, the president is worried by what he believes to be the corrosion of the democratic movement in Russia. It is expressed in the unjustifiably frequent reprisals between parties of democratic orientation and their division and the consequent reduction in the population's political activeness.

This is particularly unbeneficial to Russia now, on the eve of the sixth congress which, on the one hand, is extraordinarily important (the adoption of the constitution, the discussion of the path of reforms) and, on the other, in B. Yeltsin's opinion, will be very complex. He expects the opposition to give battle at the congress, primarily to the government of reforms and consequently to the present reformist policy. The struggle will be to persuade him, the president, to renounce the functions of the head of government and then deal with the "reforms team" itself. But B. Yeltsin considers it impossible to embark on this step today and to abandon his role as head of government, since in his opinion this government "is a good team with a businesslike mood" in which there is no internal hostility and his departure from it could destroy this fortunate equilibrium. In this connection the purport of the president's words addressed to the leaders of the democratic parties came down to the statement that without support from below, from the progressively minded political forces an Russian citizens, it will be very hard at the congress. Actually, B. Yeltsin said that if the opposition succeeds in preventing the adoption of the constitution in untruncated form and the attacks on the reforms policy are successful, he has a plan of action.

Speaking and asking questions, the parties' leaders made it clear that they support the president's policy and if necessary they will demonstrate this policy with the aid of the "popular masses." As for some private questions, there was, for instance, a proposal to "clean up" the heads of the administrations and to carry out "denomenklaturization" among them. To this the president and other participants in the meeting noted that the problem does exist but it should be approached punctiliously, analyzing each specific instance and not organizing

"witchhunts." To the suggestion that there be an easing of the tough taxation of small and medium entrepreneurs, B. Yeltsin said that a document is being prepared on this score and will be adopted in early May at the latest. The majority of the parties' leaders supported the president in the view that he should not distance himself from the government.

In general, during the slightly more than two hours the meeting lasted, not a single critical arrow was aimed at the president. And that confirms that the most appropriate possible time was chosen for the meeting (and for forthcoming meetings with the parliamentary factions and the speech at the meeting of Russian citizens). Actually, the entire brief experience of the Russian democrats has shown that, by forgetting reprisals as a rule only on the eve of decisive skirmishes and relying on these "hours of truth" and on the broadest possible democratic forces, they have achieved success.

'Corrosion' of Movement Cited

MK2603140592 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 26 Mar 92 p 2

[Mikhail Zinin report under the "Power" rubric: "Yeltsin: Alone With the Parties. Corrosion of Democratic Movement Concerns President"]

[Text] The meeting that Boris Yeltsin had with leaders of Russian political parties in the Kremlin Tuesday [24 March] took place behind closed doors. Judging by this fact, and also by the information that has nonetheless leaked out from behind the crenelated walls of the Russian fortress, it is possible to draw the conclusion that the president was fairly frank. His remarks about his concern at the "corrosion of the democratic movement in Russia" were even more of an obvious contradiction given the selection of participants for the meeting. But this may be only an apparent contradiction. Because the party representatives themselves explain Yeltsin's choice of interlocutors merely as a clear fulfillment by the president of the pledges that he made in the well known protocol signed with party representatives who expressed their unequivocal readiness to support the president's course.

As is well known, they included the Russian Christian Democratic Movement and the Constitutional Democratic Party (Party of People's Freedom). However, these parties have since changed their position quite decisively. And they consequently paid for this by not being invited to the Kremlin.

But ultimately there is no doubt that it is exclusively Yeltsin's business whom he invites for a discussion. It is just that, when he was talking about the aforementioned corrosion, the president, according to observers, singled out three basic signs of this: the fragmentation of political forces, a decrease in their overall activity, and the growing passivity of the intelligentsia. And this makes it possible to remind Yeltsin that, by his choice of people to attend the meeting, he is partly responsible for all this himself.

This can again be confirmed by referring to the list of invitees. On the list dwarfs like Moscow City Soviet's Party of Democratic Transformations, the two Parties of Free Labor—the ordinary one and the Russian one—and Chuyev's Russian Christian Democratic Party coexist perfectly peacefully with leading Russian parties. It is unclear where Ogorodnikov and Ubozhko, who in vain wanted to go to the Kremlin and were only stopped by the mighty right hand of the presidential apparatus, went wrong.

Moreover, as NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA has already reported, the meeting focused on widening the president's base of support in Russian society as a whole. Leaving aside the patently ridiculous suggestion by Constitutional Democratic Party leader Viktor Zolotarev that this could be achieved by amnestying 170,000 people who were found guilty of so-called economic crimes in the past, it should be stated that the parties suggested to the president that he focus his attention almost entirely on the emerging stratum of small and medium-sized entrepreneurs, which apparently met with understanding on Yeltsin's part. Only the Social Democrats, true to tradition, spoke of the need to have a more serious program of social support for reforms on a long-term basis, thereby extending their attention to society as a whole.

The discussion about Yeltsin's direct leadership of the government's activity, as was to be expected, provoked a polarization of opinion. The president himself, however, did not yield to the attempts to try to "save" his reputation at the price of relinquishing his team. For him it is unacceptable, as he puts it, to "let the government be torn to pieces," for purely moral reasons alone. However, as far as we can judge, this is not the only consideration that strengthens him in this opinion; he is also convinced of the rightness of what the government is doing and the rightness of its plans, of which the president is no doubt aware but which he is in no hurry to make public.

Openly supporting the idea of convening an assembly of Russian citizens, Yeltsin unambiguously stated that he was prepared to speak at it, which would undoubtedly lend the event a certain weight. Especially if it is remembered that the vice president spoke at the Congress of Civil and Patriotic Forces organized by Aksyuchits' Christian Democrats and Astafyev's Constitutional Democrats, who were not invited to the Kremlin. It remains to be seen whether Yeltsin's speech will finally exclude these parties from the president's sphere of interests and whether it will further remove Aleksandr Rutskoy from real control of the political process. But such a scenario cannot, it seems, be ruled out.

As can be concluded from the way the meeting went, Yeltsin, while actively preparing himself for a possible

deterioration of the situation in the country, is nonetheless certainly not forcing the pace of events.

As before, he intends to see a constitution adopted at the Congress, thus rejecting support for the idea of convening a Constituent Assembly for this purpose. He is also far from convinced of the need to hold early elections. Which can be deduced at least from the retort with which, it is said, he answered the panicky claim by representatives of the People's Party of Russia that without elections before the end of the year, the "steam pressure will blow off the boiler lid." "Let's not speculate, the pressure will drop..." the president parried.

On the whole, however, what we have managed to find out about the meeting leaves us with the impression that Yeltsin certainly has plans for some very definite political steps in the pipeline—something like a symbolic act to politically unite the Russian people like the Spanish reconciliation of the sides that fought in the civil war.

At the Kremlin meeting, however, the representatives of the political parties did not seem ready to propose anything serious and concrete, although some of them handed over their ideas to the president. They clearly risk that Yeltsin will cease to take them seriously.

Next in the president's series of rendezvous was to have been a meeting with trade union leaders. However, according to information from the Kremlin, this was canceled. This decision can hardly be considered healthy. Especially as it was made despite all the efforts of those in Yeltsin's entourage who are entirely right to fear a possible escalation of extremely varied forms of protest among working people.

Yeltsin To Give State Counselors 'Rough Ride'

MK2603142592 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 26 Mar 92 p 2

[Mikhail Karpov report under the "President" rubric: "President Listens to State Counselors' Opinion and Tells Them His Own"]

[Text] Yesterday in the Russian president's "private wing" of the Grand Kremlin Palace Boris Yeltsin held a conference with the Russian Federation State Counselors. There were 17 other people sitting around the table, including Marshal Shaposhnikov, Aleksey Yablokov, Sergey Shakhray, and others. According to Shakhray, the main topics of the meeting were "preparations for the Congress and the course of the reforms, and the former topic includes both analysis of the situation and the steps that have yet to be taken before the Congress." Boris Yeltsin himself opened the meeting with the words: "Counselors have not gathered in this hall for about 100 years, so we are continuing a tradition after a break. It so happened that since the last State Council session we have not all gotten together, although I have met with each of you individually. Today I would like, of course, above all to hear your opinions about the principles of our work, its organization, and the basic concept and sphere of activity of each, and about the specific complex situations you are encountering and to hear proposals about the future system for our meetings and preparations for the Congress." The president's outwardly peaceful introduction, after which, as usual, the press were ushered from the hall, was rather at odds with the claims in Kremlin corridors that some of the state counselors were in for a very rough ride at the conference.

Yeltsin Bans Newsman From Meeting

MK2603183792 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 26 Mar 92 p 6

[Report under the "News in Brief" rubric: "The Lists Are Swiftly Corrected"]

[Text] Yesterday morning our editorial office got a call from Ivan Filippov at the Russian president's press service, inviting a NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA correspondent to a meeting between Boris Yeltsin and International Olympic Committee representative Vaskosom Ranye [as transliterated]. The meeting was scheduled for 1700 hours. However, at 1530 hours the NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA journalist who had already been accredited to the president's press service was told that, unfortunately, following a small personal correction made by the president, the Kremlin guest list was being shortened, and that NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA's presence, along with that of others, was undesirable at the meeting.

Rutskoy Urges Local Chiefs To Help Farmers

PM2703125192 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 27 Mar 92 p 1

["Government telegram" dated 16 March 1992 from Russian Vice President A. Rutskoy "to the heads of Russian Federation autonomous republic governments and kray, oblast, and autonomous okrug administrations" under the "From the Center of Agrarian Reform" rubric: "Personally Responsible"]

[Text] Russia is entering a complex sowing campaign in conditions of a severe lack of material, technical, financial resources, sowing stock, and machinery. The country's president and the government are taking urgent and in many respects extraordinary measures aimed at supporting the countryside in this complex period. It is quite obvious that one of the central tasks now is to create acceptable conditions for the entire agro-industrial complex' activities and to ensure as far as possible a normal rhythm of farm work in the countryside.

The overall results of the agricultural year that has begun will largely depend on the stable and effective work of the Russian Federation's profitable kolkhozes and sovkhozes. Right now they are the ones that can resolve the year's central task—to supply the Russian population with a sufficient quantity of foodstuffs, agricultural raw materials, and seed stocks. Justified and serious concern

is being caused by information from the provinces about attempts, under the banner of privatization, auctioning, and encouraging private farming, to tear profitable farms apart and hand them out to people who often have no direct relationship with the land.

This practice, which has recently taken on threatening proportions, could bring and is already causing substantial harm not only to the agro-industrial economy but also to the entire Russian economy. Apart from this, social tension is sharply increasing in the countryside, and experienced cadres are being thoughtlessly wasted. The transition to private farming forms in the countryside has nothing in common with a campaign of destroying the organized production of agricultural output on kolkhozes and sovkhozes. A repetition of the mistakes of collectivization must on no account be permitted.

By the powers granted to me by B.N. Yeltsin, the country's president, I demand the most thorough and urgent investigation of the situation developing over state and collective farms. I hold you personally responsible for ensuring the normal working of these farms, rescinding all ordinances and administrative decisions hindering the effective activity of kolkhozes and sovkhozes. Take all possible measures to guarantee that they carry out sowing and harvesting work. If the need arises, submit proposals on measures in this direction which require intervention by the organs of supreme executive authority and the government.

I also request that instructions be issued for timely information to be given about the state of affairs in this sphere.

I am counting on your understanding and support.

With respect,

A. Rutskoy, 16 March 1992

Shakhray To Head Rehabilitation of Cossacks

LD2603172392 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1500 GMT 26 Mar 92

[Text] In accordance with an instruction from Boris Yeltsin, the Russian Government has formed a commission to prepare a draft law on the rehabilitation of the Cossacks. Sergey Shakhray, state adviser on legal policy, has been confirmed as its chairman.

Party Demands 'Threaten' Treaty 'Integrity'

OW2603201492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1853 GMT 26 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The leaders of the Democratic Party [DP] and the People's Party of Free Russia [PPFR] have urged the Russian leadership to take every necessary step to maintain constitutional order in the country. A joint statement of the chairman of the DP V. Khomyakov and the chairman of the PPFR V. Lipitskiy claims that forces willing to foil the signing of the federal treaty have stepped up activities in a number of republics of the federation. Their demands threaten its integrity.

The statement urges the peoples of the federation to rebuff separatist and nationalist forces.

In an interview with IF [INTERFAX] Vasiliy Lipitskiy voiced grave concern with the general situation in Tatarstan after the sovereignty referendum. In his opinion the referendum was a result of mistakes made by the Russian leadership.

Mr. Lipitskiy said that if Tatarstan is given the status of an associated member of the Commonwealth or a free nonaligned state, this is will be "an undesirable precedent that will cause numerous problems". As a result other republics of the federation or peoples not having a statehood might make similar demands.

Reform Movement Criticizes Constitution

OW2603200992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1853 GMT 26 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The draft of the Russian constitution worked out by the commission of Oleg Rumyantsev perpetuates the practice of consultations and "joint responsibility" of the federal and local authorities which signifies the protraction of the process of division of powers. The statement was made in an interview with IF [INTERFAX] by the chairman of the Kaliningrad regional center of the Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms Arkady Moguchev.

In his opinion the signing of the federal treaty based on such principles reduces the freedom of action and does not allow to take into account geopolitical peculiarities, the mutual interests of Russia and its republics and regions.

At the initiative of the movement's prominent legal experts, including the former chairman of the Soviet constitutional committee Sergei Alexeyev and the St. Petersburg Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak, have worked out an alternative draft of the Fundamental Law which provides for agreements between members of the federation and the central authorities and gives the republics and regions as much freedom as they need for solving their problems, Mr. Moguchev said.

Opposition Suggests Political 'Sacrifices'

OW2603184092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1638 GMT 26 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The chairman of the board of the Russian Popular Assembly and the leader of Christian-Democrats Viktor Aksyuchits has told IF [INTERFAX] that President Yeltsin can "win" the Congress of People's Deputies, if he sacrifices several members of his cabinet, primarily Yegor Gaydar, Galina Starovoytova and Andrey Kozyrev, before it. In this case Yeltsin could soften the criticism and keep the general current strategy.

However, the politician believes that changes in the leadership can give rise to hopes that will not materialize. As a result the country will face an even deeper crisis. Therefore the opposition, according to one of its leading figures, will demand the change of the political strategy which he described as hopeless instead of the change of cabinet members.

Viktor Aksyuchits is convinced that the Congress should not adopt the new Russian constitution. "It will become an instrument for dissolving legislative bodies and establishing the dictatorship of the president". The Christian-Democratic leader suggests adopting a declaration on the Russian statehood that would proclaim the continuity with regard to the Soviet Union and the Russian Empire. After that the leadership should adopt a policy of restoring the traditional Russian state within limits "set by history and the free will of the peoples of the former USSR".

He described as pressure on MPs [ministers of parliament] the convocation of the Assembly of Russian Citizens on the eve of the congress. He pointed to the slip of the tongue of Vice-Premier Gennadiy Burbulis that the Assembly might declare itself a constituent assembly and adopt the constitution which is tantamount to a coup.

Viktor Aksyuchits said that the idea of the Assembly is regarded with hostility not only by the opposition but even the political allies of the president.

The Russian Christian-Democratic movement at the congress might be supported by the Change group, farmers, the Industrial Union and the Russia group.

On April 5 the Russian Popular Assembly will organize a procession from Gorky Park to Manezh Square where a rally of all opposition forces will take place. The main demands will be the resignation of the cabinet and the preservation of "indivisible" Russia.

Professor Rejects 'Bourgeois Constitution'

PM2603143792 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 26 Mar 92 p 2

[Article by Professor B. Khorev of Moscow State University, an "expert on left-wing bloc deputies' factions in the Russian Supreme Soviet": "Danger to Society Prepared by Creators of New Russian Constitution. Bans on Rights"]

[Text] The question of the draft new Russian Constitution has been submitted to the coming Sixth Congress of Russian Federation People's Deputies. They are rushing to adopt it without public discussion by Russia's citizens in order to enshrine the legislative fruits of the "August revolution." The most alarming thing here is the fact that not only the people but deputies themselves will be unable—to put it simply, they will not have time—to thoroughly investigate the crux of the articles of the Fundamental Law and will be voting blind, without knowing what is going on.

I consider it my civic duty to warn Russians: **The draft new Russian constitution means the end of Soviet power and socialism.** A whole series of articles illustrates this.

Let us start with Articles 7, 12, 34, 62, and others that guarantee total "freedom" for a market economy and free enterprise, that is, a totally unrestricted, unrestrained market. Article 12, moreover, establishes the market economy as something unshakable that no one can abrogate. That is, a kind of market-entrepreneurial (capitalist) "thousand-year reich" lies in store for us.

To go on, the ideology of the market economy and free enterprise is established as the state ideology, although Article 5 tries to persuade us that "no ideology can be established as the state ideology binding on everyone." Was that not what we heard throughout the years of perestroyka, when the slogan of deideologization was proclaimed? Yet it only found advocates for a short while. They rapidly changed their tune. Since, if a deideologized society exists anywhere, it can only be on the Moon.

Instead of power for the working people the draft Russian Constitution overtly proclaims bourgeois dictatorship in the form of a presidential-parliamentary bourgeois democracy that totally denies all the principles of Soviet power and, what is more, has no continuity with national traditions at all. More briefly, it is a constitution for "Westerners," with norms copied from foreign constitutions—the most reactionary parts of those norms, moreover. This is an antinational constitution, and it is hard to imagine Russians having written it.

But even among bourgeois constitutions the "Yeltsin-Rumyantsev" constitution is notable for its repressive nature. You only have to compare Articles 7, 12, 15, and 68 to draw that conclusion.

Take Article 15:

"(2) The exercise of rights and freedoms to remove or forcibly change the Russian Federation's constitutional system, kindle racial, ethnic, social, class, or religious enmity and hatred, or to propagandize violence and war is forbidden."

Article 68 says:

"(1) Public associations propagandizing racial, ethnic, social, class, or religious enmity and hatred, violence and

war, calling for the forcible change or overthrow of the Russian Federation constitutional system are banned."

You can see with the naked eye that **any** agitation that mentions the existence of class struggle in society or that is intended to criticize social and class forces imposing their interests and ideas on all of society may be seen as kindling or, especially, propagandizing social and class enmity. Class theory is finding itself banned like the public associations that cleave to it. Any publication or any radio or television program that dares to censure the vices of business or free enterprise will immediately end up banned. The "Russian Business Chronicle" in A. Nevzorov's "600 Seconds," say, will be impossible. **Any statements defending working people's rights and freedoms against encroachment by quite definite social and class forces will also be banned.** Last, any citizen opposing the bourgeois system, especially if they use any epithets to do so, will come within the scope of Article 15.

But the matter goes far deeper. Any public association may be banned if it calls "for the forcible change or overthrow of the Russian Federation constitutional system." The **unshakable** market economy with its free enterprise is proclaimed as the basis of this system. Thus, antimarket political currents will be impossible altogether. However, the whole spectrum of political forces in developed countries is based on a varying attitude to the plan and the market and not only communist, but also social democratic programs are based on a varying combination of the market and the plan. Incidentally, in the West what we see is certainly not an unadulterated market economy at all, as is the case in highly backward developing countries, but a planned market economy; Japan even has a main planning agency operating under the prime minister. As we can see, world experience is no authority for our apologists.

Article 7 of the draft contains a reference to the fact that "the state takes part in regulating economic life"; but this phrase should not be considered comparable to notions of a planned economy, since in the latter case the state directs regulation and controls economic life. So, if the new Fundamental Law is adopted, even one statement in favor of a planned economy may be regarded as unconstitutional.

Another concealed hazard lurks in Part 3 of Article 7, which says that "economic relations are based on a social partnership between... the worker and the employer," yet the whole of Article 7 concerns the foundations of the constitutional system (the first 12 articles) and is declared to be unshakable, and no other article of the Constitution (Article 12, Part 3) can countermand it.

Under public pressure the writers of the Constitution may agree to exclude from Articles 15 and 68 the clauses on social and class enmity which are not, to all intents and purposes, to be found in any major world constitution. Even if these clauses are excluded, public associations and parties that consider the social partnership between the capitalist employer and the hired worker an unscrupulous myth, that act on the basis of the inevitability of class struggle in a future society with class antagonisms, and that want to overcome class antagonisms by asserting the power of the working people will be banned just the same for encroaching on the fundamentals of the social system.

But if the draft Constitution is adopted, working people will have to forget the struggle for their rights.

After 23 February, when the powers that be showed that all methods are good in the struggle with their own people, the democratic press mounted a campaign to justify the banning of rallies, meetings, demonstrations, and so on. Admittedly, with the "plausible" excuse—"during the reform period." However, Article 15 of the Russian Federation draft Constitution with regard to "violating other people's rights and freedoms" may be a basis for banning rallies and demonstrations.

So, the repressive nature of the above articles of the new Russian bourgeois constitution is quite obvious, and Russia's working people must be warned of this. The powers that be are rushing to legalize "their gains" to the detriment of the whole people.

Thus, we are being offered the **most reactionary norm in all world constitutional legislation.** If we adopt this constitution, we will be unable even to escape from the current chaos, since we can only escape from it by restricting the uncontrolled development of the market and the present speculative entrepreneurial piracy. Swindlers have come into the open, and the Constitution enshrines this terrible state of affairs for all society. Article 62 also speaks of banning activity designed to prevent or restrict competition outside the state monopoly.

The new constitution opens up total freedom for speculators and for one vast Riga station-type market throughout Russian territory.

It is hard to imagine greater cynicism and hypocrisy than that enshrined in this draft. The people must be told the bleak truth: With the adoption of this draft they lose all the rights that they had and thought natural for 70 years. The fate of cattle without rights now awaits them, cattle unable even to fight for a better fate. But there is still a chance to reject the draft, and everything now depends on the extent to which Russian deputies realize the truly tragic consequences of the outwardly appealing articles of the future Fundamental Law.

Many Defense Enterprises 'Barely Viable'

LD2603230292 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2205 GMT 26 Mar 92

[Text] Moscow, 27 Mar (ITAR-TASS)—Russian defense industry exports were 3.8 times less than in 1989, S. Shuklin, chairman of the all-Russia trade union of defense industry workers, said in an interview published

in the Friday edition of KRASNAYA ZVEZDA. According to him, the United States increased its arms sales by around 2.2 times over the same period.

Owing to nonplan conversion, the losses of Russian defense industry enterprises will amount to 35.4 billion rubles. At present, 21 percent of the enterprises are on the verge of bankruptcy, while 43 percent will soon be classified as barely viable. Thousands of workers at a number of enterprises are being sent on unpaid leave. Shuklin believes that the process is being affected negatively by the Russian Federation's lack of a military doctrine and law on defense.

Adviser Disputes First Quarter Deficit Claims

LD2503203192 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1700 GMT 25 Mar 92

[Text] Sergey Vasilyev, an economic adviser to the Russian Government, has denied an IZVESTIYA report that the Russian budget has not received a significant proportion of the planned revenue in the first quarter. He said that the budget is being implemented in full and that the deficit in the first quarter will be minimal.

Ulyukayev Rebuts Criticisms of Gaydar Policy

MK2703102992 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 27 Mar 92 p 2

[Article by Aleksey Ulyukayev, economic adviser to the Russian Federation Government, under the "Confrontation" rubric: "Regarding 'Advice From Outsiders'"]

[Text] It has come to pass. A group of leaders of the Institute of Market Problems headed by Academician Petrakov published in NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA their appeal to the Russian president and Supreme Soviet to "immediately deny their support and trust to the present government" with its "incompetent dead-end economic policy," a government that is "deliberately disrupting the economy" and has "lost control of economic processes."

Let us set emotion aside. Let us look at the respected academics' arguments against the government's policy, and also the "alternatives" that are put forward.

Yes, the government has indeed lost control over economic processes. It is merely necessary to add, not the present government, but the former Union government, and the then Russian Government, which gave it active assistance. It was back then, in 1991, that wholesale prices "released themselves" without any liberalization, inflation reached 20 percent per month, a payment disaster beckoned, exports and imports were curtailed, the budget deficit exceeded 20 percent of GNP, state expenditure was financed almost exclusively by means of emission, the high rate of increase in prices was combined with a dire shortage of all goods, the flight from the ruble was becoming general, causing an extreme decline in its exchange rate, the flight of capital abroad began to emerge, and the slump in production reached 15 percent over the year.

It is precisely the present government that is gradually and with difficulty regaining control. According to the results of the first quarter, the rate of the slump [in production] is no longer increasing. The shortages of basic goods have practically been eliminated. The budget deficit and the pumping into the economy of money that is not backed up by goods have been sharply reduced many times over. This has removed the danger of hyperinflation. After the initial January leap in corrective inflation, prices in practice stabilized in February.

This does not mean that the Russian economy is marching from victory to victory. It is going from problem to problem. And the problems are extremely difficult. But they are of a different kind from those that existed at the end of last year—economic catastrophe, the disintegration of the financial system and with it social institutions and statehood, and collapse into chaos have been successfully avoided.

Let us list the distortions and downright disinformation indulged in by the authors of the letter: Contrary to their claims, massive exports of raw materials and fuel are not under way—on the contrary, export volumes have decreased considerably and domestic requirements have scarcely declined at all. The growth in prices in Russia, as is the case throughout the world, is connected precisely with the volume of the money supply and follows it—that is a statistically proven fact. Many producers are lowering prices precisely because of the restrictions on demand. Daily production volume in February is not only not disastrously down on January, as Petrakov claims, but was in fact slightly up. The budget is by no means geared to accelerating exports. The government is in no way lifting obstacles to the export of fuel and raw materials—it has been forced to retain quotas and licensing for precisely these goods. The course of the noncash ruble even outside the Moscow Currency Exchange is following the rate at the exchange with a slight lag, and the figure of 300 rubles to the dollar could be only a figment of a very overheated imagination. The increase in the rate of the cash ruble is by no means the result of the sale of hard currency by enterprises—they are selling and buying noncash rubles and dollars. Nor is there any hint that real estate is being bought up for a pittance. Precisely in view of the present depressed ruble exchange rate, the government has introduced restrictions on participation by nonresidents in privatization.

The list of distortions could be extended, but let us move on to the authors' proposals. It is proposed, **first, to deliberately lower fuel and raw materials prices.** However, as is well known, this would lead to shortages of them and, on the other hand, would undermine the potential for reproduction in the fuel and raw material sectors and would guarantee a deepening of the slump in the production of oil and coal, with all the ensuing destructive consequences. On the basis of the present correlation

between domestic and world oil prices, to establish a hard currency exchange rate would mean a rate of 3 rubles to the dollar. Clearly, this would lead to just one thing—massive buying up of dollars using all the resources of enterprises, organizations, and private individuals. The remaining funds in enterprises' accounts alone are sufficient to create demand for $120 billion at that exchange rate! Obviously, no stabilization funds and no IMF would be able to come to the rescue here. As always in cases where demand drastically exceeds supply, we would have to resort to extremely rigid norms for the acquisition of hard currency, and that would make functionaries all-powerful and cause corruption to flourish.

Domestic raw materials and fuel prices that are depressed in relation to the prices of other factors in production, contrary to the opinion of the authors of the letter, stimulate by no means a massive influx of foreign capital but the massive buying up and exporting of raw materials and fuel and, once again, the appetites of the state functionaries who authorize this.

Second, for the umpteenth time it is proposed **to hand out** the production capital of state enterprises **gratis to labor collectives.** Such pipedreams have been rejected by world and Russian economic science. This is a manifestly unfair route to take—some would get property worth many hundreds of thousands of rubles for free, others would get hundreds of times less, and yet others—personnel in budget-financed organizations—would get nothing. The resultant collective ownership by labor collectives is extremely inefficient and has a tendency to "eat up" fixed capital and to retain a backward production structure. This is a dead end.

Third, there is monetary reform, though the authors say nothing about the details of its implementation. But regardless of any details, monetary reform would mean precisely the devaluation of accumulations of which the authors complain so bitterly. To say nothing of the fact that it is an expensive measure that destabilizes all the rational expectations of subjects engaging in economic activity. And finally, the new, reformed money would again be liable to inflationary devaluation. And we would have to implement the deflationary budget, credit, and tax measures that our advisers so dislike. But we would have to do this in a worse financial situation than at present.

Fourth, there is the principle of "cheap money" and low interest rates on credit. The authors are aware that this measure in itself may cause hyperinflation, so they propose that cheap credit be combined with a rigid system for its centralized allocation. Even if it were possible to implement such a measure, this would mean simply restoring the system of [centralized] funding: Something like Gosplan [State Planning Committee] would decide who should get resources, and the resources would be distributed there, essentially for free. All the defects of the administrative economy would be revived: incompetence, the preservation of obsolete structures and production facilities, bargaining and lobbying for particular sectorial interests, low efficiency in the use of resources, and so on, and so forth.

But the main point is that it is simply impossible to do this. The administrative mechanism for control has been destroyed. It will scarcely be possible to recreate it. And without it it is impossible to share out resources and control their use. Only the market can do that, but at market prices, including the price of money, that is, credit. The Institute of Market Problems might have known that.

The same goes for the original ideas of **restoring price controls**: In a trice the academician and his comrades cast aside the rags of ideas of market prices dictated by supply and demand. Now they are inclined toward the traditional administrative economy, with controls on prices and incomes, rationing, and the setting of norms. This is quite impossible within the framework of a democratic system. Even an "economic state of emergency" would probably not be enough here, you would have to resort to a political state of emergency.

The idea of the need to give all kinds of **subsidies to agriculture** is typical in the simple-mindedness of the arguments adduced (apparently the West European countries do this, so we ought to do so as well). There are just three tiny little details—over there they did this, first, not before but after the achievement of financial stabilization, second, they use real rather than inflationary sources of finance, and, third, the subsidies are granted to efficient private owners....

Or take the following position totally characteristic of Ryzhkov (a position that Petrakov once opposed extremely sharply): **First the slump must be overcome,** production boosted, and the market saturated, and only then must the budget deficit be reduced. But it is precisely the budget deficit that creates the situation where incentives to invest do not operate, and therefore the slump in production continues. Attempts have already been made to boost production both by tightening the screws and by handing out products and subsidies and inflating the money supply. The result has been totally the reverse.

Of course, there are some recommendations that you cannot cavil at (this is in a different article in IZVESTIYA, an article in a different genre—not a denunciation, more of an essay: It contains less abuse and more proposals). That goes for the idea of issuing long-term and treasury securities—an idea so trivial it was discussed by both Ryzhkov's and Silayev's cabinets. The only problem here is the high yield of such securities (higher than the rate of inflation). We must certainly move in this direction, and this proposition is enshrined in the memorandum on the government's economic policy. However, it is clear that the switch to a high yield on state securities is possible only in tandem with an analytical measure regarding Central Bank credits: These are interlinked spheres, so to speak. But the authors'

imagination has created a kind of monster—cheap credit combined with a high rate of servicing of the internal debt. I quite agree with the idea of the Central Bank's independence from the government. In fact, that is precisely the case in practice. It would be quite good to add to this the bank's independence from parliament, to which, under the law, it is merely accountable. Nor is the need for the Central Bank to monitor the activity of commercial banks in question. Since its very first hours of existence the government has invariably advocated this. The same goes for the proposal for a ban on the export of hard currency proceeds to foreign countries, the creation of a Commonwealth banking union where decisions are made not on the basis of the number of members but on the basis of the size of your share in the capital, and the idea of commercialization as a preliminary step along the road to privatization. All this is enshrined in government documents. Admittedly, I cannot see the point in attempting to break down an open door. Perhaps it is in order to dilute the rather bizarre collection of "alternative" rescue plans with some sensible points, albeit ones drawn from government documents.

At any rate, this stance in no way accords with economic reform. The authors are in a totally different dimension. They reject it simply "out of hand." This is advice from outsiders, total outsiders.

They are perhaps supported by Academician Arbatov, who, by his own admission, is not a professional economist. His enthusiasm is for denouncing the government program. On the following points: assessment by international experts, support from eminent foreign economists, and world experience. In the academician's opinion, the expert assessment boils down to borrowing prescriptions from various custom-produced works on the Soviet economy. On the other hand he claims: "Gaydarism" is merely a reaction to our own dogmatic Marxism. Not ours, at any rate. You cannot find in any of the works of the members of the "Gaydar team," even the earliest ones, any hint of an apologia for the economic system that existed at that time. And conversely, the problems of stabilization in conditions of the macroeconomic crisis that concludes the existence of that system were examined even back then.

There are, so to speak, three theoretical sources of the present stabilization program: the works of Western economists (by no means only monetarists, but also neo-Keynesians, the school of "rational expectations," the theory of "catch-up [dogonyayushchiy] development," and works on inflationary economies, especially Latin American economies). The studies of East European economists on problems of the crisis of the socialist economies, the potential for reforming them, and the particular features of the postsocialist social structure. Finally, the theory developed by Gaydar and other members of the team regarding the Soviet-type economy as a "bureaucratic market" economy, an economy of hierarchical bargaining for resources.

A few words about the attitude of Western scientists and experts to the Russian reform program: It is practically unanimous—this is a serious program consonant with the unprecedented complexity of the problems that the Russian economy is encountering and offering substantial chances of success. Not 100 percent chances. But no other program offers chances even running into tens of percent.

Typically, any critic of the Russian reform program (A. Sergeyev, A. Rutskoy, G. Arbatov) invariably uses the same name—Galbraith—as opponent to the entire world community of economists. It is perfectly understandable—they have no other authorities up their sleeve and this is an impressive name to readers in our country, by contrast with the West: Because of his left wing political stances Galbraith was probably the only American economist who was translated and received quite favorable comment during official political economy courses. It should also be noted that Galbraith has never studied problems of macroeconomic stabilization.

Those are the arguments. That is the position, if you can call it that. And it is being given an extensive airing, without a shadow of embarrassment. I scarcely think that such verbal exercises will be able to shake the reformers' position in any way.

'Pessimistic Model' of Economic Prospects Eyed

LD2603222492 Moscow TASS in English 2102 GMT 26 Mar 92

[By unidentified ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow March 26 TASS—The Din-Prognoz Scientific Center and the Russian Supreme Economic Council have made a pessimistic model of the dynamics of Russian social and economic development, the IZVESTIYA newspaper reports today.

According to the computer model, the production recession have surpassed the governmental estimations, the budget policy has not achieved the planned target and the budget deficit will amount to 80-90 billion U.S. dollars in the first quarter that will lead to further mounting of inflation.

The analysis says, the volumes of sales of foodstuffs and consumer goods in January-February, 1992, ran into about 40 per cent of the level of late 1991. Within the next six or eight months the aggravation of social problems is possible due to the growth of unemployment caused by production curtailment.

Although being a necessary measure, further liberalization of prices, especially of those on energy carriers, will give rise to another price leap. According to the computer model, the inflation may amount to monthly 30-40 per cent in the near three or six months.

Measures to increase the revenue part of the budget may lead to a sharp deterioration of fiscal situation at industrial enterprises and curtailment of production by 30-50 per cent by the end of 1992.

More Calls for Privatization, Market Aired

LD2603144592 Moscow TASS in English 1215 GMT 26 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Petr Tsyrendorzhiev]

[Text] Moscow March 26 ITAR-TASS—The current reform in Russia presupposes deep-going fundamental changes in the economy, but the republic saw only a hike in prices and a steep fall in living standards.

The government's main mistake is that "like all monetarists, it thinks that the money is the main force behind the movement of commodities". This comment was made today by Aleksandr Pochinok, chairman of the parliament commission for the budget, plans, taxes and prices.

Talking in an ITAR-TASS interview, Pochinok said the idea of deficit-free budget fell through: At best the deficit will run at 70 billion roubles. The situation in foreign trade is equally bad: in the past two months, foreign trade revenues to the budget amounted only to eight billion roubles as against 228 billion as planned.

The parliament is not going to introduce fixed prices, Pochinok continued. On the contrary, they must form on the basis of the market. But along with this process, there must be a flexible policy in the expansion of production.

"It is high time we put the privatisation process in order and formalise private property on land in the constitution," he concluded.

Economist Yavlinskiy Focuses on 'Moral Concept'

PM2603144592 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS FAX DIGEST in English 24 Mar 92 pp 4-6

[Interview with economist Grigoriy Yavlinskiy by publicist Lyudmila Saraskina; place and date not given: "Capitalism is for the People To Choose]

[Text] L.S. [Lyudmila Saraskina]: Why did you decide to draw up an economic programme for entering the market while being aware that the country and the people for whom you worked had—as it was customary to believe—a natural and historical immunity against amassing wealth and private property?

G.Ya. [Grigoriy Yavlinskiy]: It would be both impossible and extremely dangerous not to reckon with the specific features of my country.

But I felt wanted to understand what I was doing: laying the foundations of an effective economy, changing people's attitudes. The reply was very simple: before staking on "capitalism" or "private property" I had to enable people to make a conscious choice which they had long and forcibly been deprived of. And purely professional problems followed.

L.S.: Nevertheless, you didn't find necessary to publicly announce your intentions. But you will agree that there is hardly anyone who understood you. Your 500-day programme was taken more as some kind of sorcery or a magic formula than a practical guide to untying fetters on people's feet.

G.Ya.: I was prepared to reply, but society was not ready for the question. I stood before parliament for nearly six months, and was asked all kinds of other things. Our man at the top asked, for example, whether I had received money from the CIA. In the publication of the 500-day programme. And you say that money is not the main thing for us Russians. The Russian authorities tried to find out if Gorbachev had incited me to write this programme to harm Yeltsin, whereas in the Union structures everyone was convinced that these were Yeltsin's intrigues. Let us take a look at the problem from a different angle: why doesn't society which is being forced to make peculiar reforms, bring the reformers to account?

L.S.: Witness the communist rallies, nostalgia for distributive socialism, the dilemma of old-age pensioners faced by the elemental force of the market. I can despise Zhirinovsky or any other political horse trader, but I can only sympathize with an elderly woman teacher who swears that she would better starve to death than go and peddle cooperative merchandise. What amounts to a single problem has been dismembered and pulled apart between different parties: liberals are definitely supposed to support market novelties, whereas communist patriots are expected to [word indistinct] the opposition using precisely ethical arguments for the purpose.

G.Ya.: I acted not on instructions from any party, but precisely as an economist. And as such I maintain that any economic programme, especially that of reforms, must be based on a moral concept. Essentially my position boils down to providing people at least for the beginning, with initial economic possibilities so that they should be able to use their labour, their earnings and their own life as they see fit. Putting it differently, there is a need to give people the possibility of making a choice.

L.S.: In other words, the 500-Day Programme was an attempt to create the basis for every individual's law-based and economic self-determination, not forgetting national peculiarities?

G.Ya.: Quite right. It contained this scheme: everything that the state used to keep to itself was to be given to the people. The initial premise: the progamme was made not at the expense of people, but at the expense of the state parting with its monopolist habits. And in this we greatly differed from Poland and other countries.

L.S.: Many consider you to be a romantic, an idealist. You wanted to make man free when it was known that he could hardly tolerate freedom, that he saw it as a burdensome and was prepared to give it away to anybody who would promise him a guaranteed piece of bread.

G.Ya.: All well and good. But let him do this himself. As yet he is unable.

L.S. Does it mean that on the way from jail someone intercepted the key from the gates?

G.Ya.: No, it doesn't. Some people simply wanted to open the gates, but others started arguing about the quality of prison cells and the width of the gates. They concerned themselves not with how to get out of jail, but with the manner of walking out of it.

L.S.: You didn't declare your intentions, but the new reformers also keep silent.

G.Ya.: What did the new government say? We will not write programmes. But if they intend to be a government of people's trust, why haven't they clearly explained to the people what they are going to do? Here I have a booklet entitled "The Russian Government's Economic Policy". Look, it is compiled of only decrees.

L.S.: And how do things stand now? No freedom in sight? Or will this freedom be too costly? And is something else implicated in this—mediocrity or evil intent, irresponsibility, incompetence?

G.Ya.: Imagine a painter: he has good brushes, and paints and canvases too. But instead of a painting he makes a mess. Aren't they bringing about privatization? Yes, they are. Don't they [word indistinct] land reform? Yes, they do. Aren't they liberalizing prices? Yes they are. But what do they get as a result? I'm asked why I can't help them. But how? Perhaps in Russia anything else is simply impossible? Perhaps freedom is intolerable here? I never want to bring people into collusion with one another, benefiting some while destroying others.

L.S.: What are the principles on which you build your relationships with the authorities? Do you join in their political game or do you wash you hands of it all and work for yourself, for the future?

G.Ya.: Are they authorities? People are being slain and murdered near their borders, and they just watch. They have a president in every village while referendums are held to demonstrate that nobody even wants to know them. Their currencies are controlled without any coordination by 14 state budgets and by as many central banks. It looks as if they have only two levers: they print money and issue licences for the export of resources. But for all that there is no hard-earned cash anywhere, and you can export things even without a licence. It must be understood that the process is already underway and must be rendered safe. The authority is only an authority when it can give instead of just taking. And we shall try to help create such an authority.

'Seriously Ill' State of Intelligence Assessed

LD2603145992 Moscow TASS in English 0955 GMT 26 Mar 92

[By CRIME PRESS correspondent Sergey Oleinik]

[Text] Moscow March 26 ITAR-TASS—"As a professional and a man who does not regard himself to be a canting hypocrite, I would not have objected to having a source in the Vatican. But owing to the specifics of the object—its closeness to God—I have failed," former deputy chief of Soviet intelligence Boris Solomatin told journalists on Wednesday [25 March].

Solomatin, who holds the rank of major general and served as KGB resident in Rome, Washington and New York also flatly denied any KGB involvement in the kidnapping of former Italian Prime Minister Aldo Moro and an attempt on the pope's life.

"At the time the CIA has promulgated a propaganda campaign, before which I take my hat off," said Solomatin. "Shortly after the attempt our 'arch enemies' from the CIA drafted a memo, which said there were no grounds to believe that the Soviet Union directly or indirectly supported international terrorism. At the same time Americans inspired publications in Italian newspapers about 'Bulgarian' and 'Russian traces', about KGB's links with 'red brigades'. These allegations are being spread to this day, many years after, even though they come into conflict with the new trends."

The retired general sidestepped several pointed questions, namely, the exact number of agents of the former Soviet Union in Italy, the KGB involvement in political murders, Kryuchkov's role in preparing the coup attempt, and his attitude to traitors.

Solomatin paused only once when he was asked to assess the current state of Russian intelligence.

"The lion is not dead, but is seriously ill. That's why many foxes are trying to tug at its tail in the hope of being unpunished," the veteran who served 30 years in intelligence concluded.

Poltoranin Optimistic About Single Media Space

MK2603151092 Moscow Teleradioveshchatelnaya Kompaniya Moskva Television in Russian 1545 GMT 25 Mar 92

[S. Nagaynik report over video; from the "Moskovskiy Teletayp" newscast]

[Text] Mikhail Poltoranin, vice premier of the Russian Government, described himself as the fourth estate's representative in the government. At today's news conference the vice premier spoke with optimism about the establishment of a single information space over the territory of Russia. According to Poltoranin, this problem is regarded with understanding in the government and funds are being sought to help independent

mass media, which today find themselves in difficult times. [video shows Poltoranin addressing news conference]

Of course, the journalists were not only interested in their own futures. There were many questions about ethnic difficulties on the territory of the former Union. The questions related to the latest events in Tatarstan, Nagorno-Karabakh, and the Dnestr region.

Answering journalists' questions, Mikhail Poltoranin expressed the hope that Tatarstan will join the Federation Treaty, which it is planned to sign 31 March. The vice premier expressed the view that close economic ties between the Ukraine and Russia will strengthen in the future, and the protracted war in Nagorno-Karabakh will possibly be stopped by forces from the international community. The main direction of Russia's ethnic policy will be determined by the coming congress, the vice premier said.

Aid to Press Poses Dilemma for Journalists

MK2603104592 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No 13, 29 Mar 92 (Signed to Press 24 Mar 92) p 21

[Article by Mikhail Shevelev: "The Press and the Authorities. We Are Not a Couple"]

[Text] The Russian Supreme Soviet Committee on the Mass Media has decided to help the periodical press, which is being stifled by the excessive charges imposed by monopolists—the newsprint and communications industries. Now 120 all-Russian and former all-Union publications are to receive 5.5 billion rubles [R] in aid. Some R3.7 billion has been earmarked for local newspapers and magazines.

This decision immediately prompted several perplexed questions. What were the criteria used in drawing up the list of aid recipients? What publications are on the list? Who has agreed to accept this money and who has refused? How were the specific sums decided?

In the opinion of the Russian Ministry of the Press and Mass Media, the list of publications requiring assistance includes those that requested this. This information is not borne out. For instance, IZVESTIYA made no request, but it has been allocated R900 million. Nor are all members of the list of "120" known: According to IZVESTIYA's information, it includes NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA, but the editorial office denies it is receiving money. It is not clear who has agreed to accept the sums on offer: None of the imagined or actual recipients would speak out in unequivocal terms about this (MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI is absolved of the need to do so, since it does not feature in either the former or the latter category). All that is known for certain is that the legislators decided who gets how much on the basis of subjective criteria like "popularity," "topicality," and "independence."

So the parliamentary committee has answered in the affirmative the question: Should the press be helped or not? Now the publications that have been offered state subsidies have to choose their reply: Yes please, or no thank you.

In the present conditions a refusal threatens to spell the end of their existence for newspapers and magazines. An answer in the affirmative is fraught with losses of a different kind. Although the parliamentary committee's resolution does not make the provision of aid directly conditional on "keeping in line," there are certain facts which make it possible to assume that this will indeed be the case. According to ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA, the semiofficial Russian organ, aid under the list of "120" will be granted "quarterly, in order to assess the situation and follow the development of events." Who is going to "assess and follow" them, and how? And what exactly will they be keeping an eye on? The Russian leaders have already stated the need to ensure ideological support for their programs.

But is the situation of the press so hopeless that the only way to help it is via direct injections of money from the state? Is there a solution that does not cast doubt on its independence? There are solutions, and they are well known. You can help publications by loosening the tax noose. You can support—again by means of taxes—the newsprint and communications industries on condition that they stop "milking" newspapers and magazines to the point of total exhaustion. You can grant publications favorable long-term government-guaranteed bank loans, officially stipulating that this aid does not make it possible to influence the stance taken by the press. Finally, there are publications that are perfectly capable of surviving independently if they are given back their own money that the state has pocketed from their accounts in the Vneshekonombank [Bank for Foreign Economic Activity]. So perhaps it would be worth starting not by handing out taxpayers' money but by returning what has been illegally appropriated?

Parliament and the government clearly realize the force of the printed word. There is just one question: What kind of press do the authorities want to preserve?

The list of publications maintained with taxpayers' money and reflecting the official viewpoint is already rather long: ROSSIYA, ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA, PRAVITELSTVENNYY VESTNIK, and FEDERATSIYA (plus Russian TV and Radio Rossii). Even countries with a fatter state budget do not permit themselves to do this kind of thing (and not only out of economic considerations).

Pious faith in the effectiveness of "agitation and propaganda" was characteristic of the present authorities' predecessors—the bolsheviks. But now it would be good to take a different path.

The present calamitous plight of the press has led everybody into temptation. The authorities are naturally tempted to try to win the favor of the "dowerless bride"

with generous promises. The dilemma facing journalists is clear. But the authorities and the press are not fated to wed. Such marriages bring forth only monsters like the PRAVDA of former times. We are not a couple. But are we going to remain good friends?

Society Said 'on Threshold of Disaster'

OW2603232892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1638 GMT 26 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The annual suicide rate in Russia is 60,000 and a total of one million attempt suicide. The figures were disclosed at a roundtable meeting "Russia Today: Revival or Decline" in Moscow by the director of the Institute of Socio-Political Studies Gennadiy Osipov. He said public opinion polls conducted by his institute indicate that every fifth person in the Russian Federation would want to emigrate.

According to Dr. Osipov, this can be considered evidence of Russia being "on the threshold of disaster" which also manifests itself in the political and economic disintegration of the republic. He compared the present state in the country to what Rus experienced in the 12th century before the Mongol-Tatar conquest.

Tatiana Koryagina, a prominent economist who attended the meet, said the Gaydar government is daily recruiting its own opponents by its economic policy. She claimed that 90% of the population is under the poverty line and 30% at the lower depths of society.

Dr. Koryagina said that the "revolutionary" policy now carried out by the Gaydar team will inevitably lead to the defeat of the democrats, and in this case they will be replaced by "a man in uniform".

Supreme Soviet

Yeltsin 'Bound' To Present Kiev Documents

LD2703095592 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0900 GMT 27 Mar 92

[Text] The Russian Federation Supreme Soviet has bound Boris Yeltsin to present the documents examined in Kiev by the heads of the CIS member states to parliament.

At today's joint session of the chambers, Deputy Nikolay Pavlov insisted that the Russian president should speak at the Supreme Soviet session on the results of the Kiev accords. However, at the suggestion of Sergey Filatov, who was in the chair, parliament voted only for the documents on the Kiev meeting to be presented to the Supreme Soviet. In the deputies' opinion, these are important issues of principle, and parliament should therefore submit them to thorough study.

Second Section of Draft Constitution Rejected

OW2603184292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1638 GMT 26 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] After a five hour debate on Thursday [26 March] the Russian parliament turned down the second section of the draft constitution. The parliamentary correspondent of IF [INTERFAX] reports that the section declaring the key rights and liberties was put to vote twice but did not collect the necessary number of votes from members of the House of Nationalities.

The most heated argument was caused by Article 29 saying that "the right to elect and the possibility of being elected to local self-government bodies can be given to foreign citizens as well as persons without citizenship permanently residing in said territories."

The issue has been sent to the conciliatory commission.

State, Birth Rights at Issue

LD2603184792 Moscow TASS in English 1659 GMT 26 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Vinitskaya]

[Text] Moscow March 26 TASS—The Russian parliamentarians have split over a part of the draft Russian Constitution which determines basic rights, freedoms and duties of Russian citizens.

The part, which was approved by the Council of the Republic, was turned down by the Council of Nationalities after several deputies opposed some of its provisions. The draft will be sent to the conciliatory commission to thrash out the contradictions.

"The main difference between the existing Constitution and the draft is that people receive their rights and freedoms not from the state, but from birth," Sergey Kovalev, head of the Russian Parliamentary Commission for Human Rights, said.

According to the draft, the list of rights and freedoms can be supplemented by a law adopted either by the federal parliament or by Russian constituent republics. However, only the federal legislature has the power to limit people's rights.

The draft also allows every citizen to study documents and decisions concerning his rights and freedoms and choose his nationality.

Unlike the present Constitution, the draft envisages specific guarantees of people's rights and freedoms, including the right to protect one's rights in Russian and international courts.

'Active Steps' on Chechen-Ingush Being Taken

LD2603171992 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1500 GMT 26 Mar 92

[Text] The leadership of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation is taking active steps to settle the crisis in Checheno-Ingushetia by political means. This is stated in an analytical document by a parliamentary working group, which was distributed amongst the deputies at the White House today. Analyzing the results of a recent meeting in Sochi of experts from the Russian Supreme Soviet and the parliament of the so-called Chechen Republic, the working group notes that the parties agreed, should talks take place, to examine political, legal, and economic issues above all, as well as matters of collective security.

First Consultative Meeting Held

OW2603163392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1330 GMT 26 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Next week, the Russian parliament will decide the future of the talks with the Chechen Republic. Viktor Zhigulin, chief of the delegation of Russian experts to the talks with the Chechen Republic, said that such a decision was taken on Wednesday [25 March] during a conference involving Vice- Chairman of the Russian parliament Yuriy Yarov.

On March 12 to 14, in Dagomys (Sochi), the delegation of Russian experts, led by Viktor Zhigulin, Vice-Chairman of the Russian parliament's Council of the Republic, held the first consultative meeting with the Chechen side.

To quote Zhigulin, the Sochi conference concentrated on the technical aspects of the question: In what political and legal form should the Chechen Republic's independence be recognized? Like Tatarstan, the Chechen Republic refused to join the federative treaty. A second round of Russian-Chechen talks, scheduled for the end of March, is expected to involve experts of the official delegations, not experts of the working groups which have no official powers, said Viktor Zhigulin.

Stepankov Addresses Members, Reports Violations

LD2703032392 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2025 GMT 26 Mar 92

[Speech by Russian Procurator General Valentin Stepankov to the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, followed by question-and-answer session, on 26 March; from the "Russian Federation Supreme Soviet" program—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Stepankov] Esteemed people's deputies: On 5 April 1991, for the first time in the history of the Russian Federation, the congress, having ratified the appointment of a procurator general, took the first step toward establishing an independent procuracy accountable only to the highest legislative bodies. [passage omitted]

The Russian procurators soon had to prove their devotion to sovereignty in deeds. With the aim of ensuring the Russian referendum, more than 135 decisions from the session aimed at impeding the referendum were protested. [passage omitted]

Following submissions to procurators, we have brought an end to the combination of posts for 65 chairmen of soviets at various levels and 285 party committee secretaries. Voluntarily, after conversations with procurators, 48 oblast soviet chairmen and 72 party committee secretaries gave up one of their posts. The unlawful combination of leading posts in local bodies of power and management in economic and commercial structures was halted in 205 cases. [passage omitted]

Annually, following up on data on breaches of the law, procurators check up to 100,000 enterprises, businesses, administrative and governing organizations, and structures. Just last year, through procuracy inspectorate materials, 35,000 illegal acts were brought to light and rescinded, and the rights of more than 70,000 citizens were restored. No small amount of work is occupied with examining and resolving citizens' statements and complaints. Procuracy bodies alone receive approximately 1 million of these complaints annually. The procurators personally interview up to 900,000 people. [passage omitted]

Every criminal case under investigation passes through the prism of the procuracy inspectorate. Last year alone there were more than 2.5 million of them. Moreover, the procurators ensured the checking of more than 1 million (?items) of evidence on which the initiation of criminal proceedings was refused.

Courts in which the procurator supported the state prosecution examined 200,000 criminal cases—as a rule, these were the most dangerous crimes. The procurators gave rulings on 180,000 civil suits in ensuring the protection of citizens' rights of ownership and personal rights.

Our investigative staff in the procuracy bodies is made up of fewer than 5,000 investigators. They completed more than 79,000 criminal cases in a year, among them the monstrous case of the murder of 53 women and children in Rostov Oblast, 60 bandit attacks in Irkutsk Oblast, and crimes committed by a band led by the Ovchinnik recidivists. The members of this band, who were based in Yekaterinburg, carried out more than 40 bandit attacks in various Russian towns, including eight murders. The activities of the Guseynov band, which carried out eight armed assaults and five murders in Volga towns, were stopped. A group of recidivists which, contracted by a group of officials, assaulted People's Deputy Guslyannikov—now president of Mordovia—in Saransk for his work in uncovering corruption in the echelons of republican power, was exposed and brought

to trial. The investigation into the case of the infection of children in Volgograd Oblast with AIDS has been completed.

There are many, many more cases. Over the year procuracy investigators have sent cases to the courts on 1,500 murders, more than 1,000 instances of bribe-taking, and on more than 4,000 officials who committed crimes in the sphere of their official powers.

Under the procurators' supervision are 824 corrective labor colonies in which more than half a million convicts are held and 170 remand prisons in which 160,000 people are serving their terms of punishment. Also, approximately half a million people are serving their sentences of punishment without being deprived of their liberty. This undoubtedly does not cover all the supervisory activities of the procuracy, but at the same time it gives a rough picture of its functions, the level of supervision, and the volume of work carried out, work in Russia which is being carried out by only 20,000 procurators and investigators, in rayon procurators' offices consisting of three or four people. For comparison, the tax inspectorate has 60,000 people, Russian environmental health stations have 24,000 people, etc. [passage omitted]

Based on procurators' protests, over 10,000 illegal orders and officials' instructions which infringed on labor rights of citizens have been abolished. More than 24,000 civil cases found their just solution in court with the help of procurators; people who had been dismissed were given back their jobs. A total amount of 250,000 rubles was exacted from those guilty of unlawfully dismissing people on claims presented by procurators, and disciplinary and even criminal liability proceedings were brought against more than 5,500 overzealous administrators for violating labor legislation.

There have been numerous instances of violations and arbitrariness in the sphere of registration and allocation of housing. In only a year, procurators have registered more than 5,000 instances of unjustified applications for administrative evictions. The procurators have lodged more than 3,500 protests to curb violations of the law in the housing sphere and more than 1,000 violators have been made to answer according to the law.

It should be stressed today that there are no appropriate legal regulations for the political activities of our citizens. The legislation that exists is mostly that of the former Union. This is no longer sufficient; it does not reflect the seriousness of the situation. First and foremost, the procedures on conducting mass actions, meetings, and other acts should be regulated. More than 2,000 such actions took place last year. Half of them were in many ways spontaneous. The situation is aggravated by the refusal of local authorities, on formal grounds, to grant permission to hold meetings.

The fact that certain public associations and movements have tried to create their own armed formations is also a dangerous tendency. It was necessary for procurators to intervene to halt this kind of activity in Tatarstan and in Rostov Oblast. The problem of monitoring the observance of laws on interethnic relations has become a new problem for the procuracy. [passage omitted]

Following procurators' protests, about 25,000 unlawful court sentences have been canceled or changed. [passage omitted]

Esteemed People's Deputies, deepening crises and the increasing tension in the country have aggravated the situation for maintaining law and order. Negative tendencies in the methods and structure of crimes have gained additional pace during the past year. The total amount of registered crimes has exceeded 2.2 million. Every seventh crime is a serious one.

The rise in crime has been registered in all the territories of the Russian Federation, but the greatest increases have taken place in Vladimir, Kostroma, Novgorod, Sakhalin, and Tver Oblasts. More than 132,000 citizens have fallen victim to murderers, thieves, and assaulters. The process of consolidating economic and criminal crimes is gaining speed. Organized crime has doubled in the last one and a half years, especially serious extortion crimes, which have increased by 2.5 times. Instances of arms theft have increased fourfold.

The problem of reporting crimes requires attention without delay. More than 1 million crimes were not reported last year. Included in this number were more than 2,000 murders, 7,500 bandit attacks, more than 11,000 cases of inflicting heavy injury, and a great number of selfish crimes. [passage omitted]

Procuracy bodies today, while assessing the level of crime, consider their main task to be to monitor lawfulness in the activities of those bodies which are carrying out the struggle against crime. In carrying out this work this past year, procurators had to cancel more than 31,000 unjustified decisions to refuse to institute criminal proceedings and reopen more than 41,000 criminal cases which were unlawfully halted and more than 50,000 cases that were unlawfully suspended.

Criminal proceedings were instituted against 504 Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] staffers for malfeasance. The practice of concealing crimes by MVD bodies continues. This is uncovered in almost every investigation. Procurators were forced to register for monitoring more than 36,000 concealed crimes during the past year. [passage omitted]

The issue of working out a concept for a single system for registering crimes is long overdue. The main point is to obtain objective information about crimes. This should be secured in the draft law on registration in law and order bodies, which has been in development since 1991. [passage omitted]

Last year procurators arrested 251,000 people who had committed criminal offenses. Operational investigation groups in charge of uncovering and investigating the

most dangerous crimes were established and are now working permanently. At the same time, the procurator's office believes that any measures aimed at improving the fight against crime can achieve results only in conjunction with general political, economic, and social transformations. The procuracy sees the way out through the adoption of a special state program for which we have submitted our proposals. Work to prepare it, however, has unjustifiably dragged on. [passage omitted]

The general procurator's office checked the implementation of the laws on land reform by going to Krasnodar Kray, Arkhangelsk Oblast, and Rostov and Tomsk Oblasts. Quite a few cases of administrative arbitrariness and open counteractions against land reform have been uncovered, cases in which local soviets, state management bodies, and farm heads have used various pretexts to evade the allocation of land plots for peasants' farms and have been slow in forming a special land fund.

Data obtained during procurators' checks testifies to the fact that territorial and departmental management and financial control bodies are not yet able to neutralize negative instances as far as the implementation of new laws is concerned. There are a lot of violations in registering business organizations, granting bank credits, and privatizing state property. Under the guise of market operations, there is often a siphoning of state funds into the accounts of cooperatives, entrepreneurs, and commercial banks. [passage omitted]

Some of the state apparatus, the parts in charge of registering business organizations and granting them permission, is affected by bribery. The 2500 cases of bribery uncovered over the course of the past year do not reflect the real scale of this phenomenon. A special law providing a clear-cut definition of the organizational, lawful, and material basis for the activities of our state employees is needed.

I believe that there are no grounds today for carrying out such a widescale amnesty, which would affect 400,000 convicts. I also believe that there is no way that people sentenced to death should be exempted wholesale from the punishment handed down by the court.

[Belov] Deputy Belov from Tver. Esteemed Valentin Georgiyevich, on 20 March NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA quoted the words of your deputy, Lisov, about the possible initiation of criminal proceedings against Gorbachev, Yakovlev, Shevardnadze, and other former Politburo members who allegedly bear collective responsibility for squandering financial resources on foreign communist parties. Today KURANTY and ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA published reports that the Russian procuracy has very politely restricted former Union President Gorbachev's movements in April in connection with the investigation of a criminal case.

[Stepankov] Both Gorbachev and the other Politburo members are involved in the current case of party money as witnesses. Gorbachev has received a letter from the investigator in which the investigator told him: Esteemed Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, in connection with your upcoming questioning as a witness, we request that you be in the territory of the Russian Federation during the first 10 days of April. This is because all the other Politburo members, with a small exception, have already been questioned about the case in which he is being investigated.

Confirms Gorbachev Investigation

LD2603180392 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1708 GMT 26 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Galina Vinitskaya]

[Text] Moscow, 26 Mar (ITAR-TASS)—Answering deputies' questions today at a session of the Russian parliament, Russia's General Procurator Valentin Stepankov confirmed that Mikhail Gorbachev has received notification from investigators requesting that he not leave the Russian Federation in the first 10 days of April because he has to be questioned in connection with the criminal case now being investigated on CPSU financial abuses.

Citizens Assembly Discussed at 25 Mar Session

PM2703084592 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 26 Mar 92 First Edition p 1

[Report by Parliamentary Observer Robert Minasov: "Fourth Session of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet:" "Stalemate Avoided"]

[Text] The White House—A hitch occurred during discussion of the procedure for examination of the draft Russian Federation Constitution at yesterday's (25 March) joint morning session of the Supreme Soviet, a hitch which could have deadlocked parliament. However, deputies successfully avoided the reefs and continued discussion in a professional manner.

The problem was that the Supreme Soviet is not entitled to amend decisions by the Constitutional Commission, but merely carries out conciliation functions here. Parliament may discuss only those proposals which have been turned down by the Constitutional Commission or where the commission's attitude to them is not clearly defined.

This restrictive norm certainly made some parliamentarians eager to make improper and largely unjust attacks on Constitutional Commission Secretary Oleg Rumyanstsev, who was ready to step down from the rostrum.

Armed with the facts, Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov demonstrated the groundlessness of a statement by Vyacheslav Lyubimov, who accused the Constitutional Commission working party of failing to take account of proposals presented to the 24 March session.

Khasbulatov abruptly cut short the attempt by Dmitriy Stepanov to impose on parliament discussion of the legality of excluding the abreviation "RSFSR" and the

word "socialism" from the text of the draft Constitution. A relevant Supreme Soviet resolution exists on this question, the chairman stated.

Khasbulatov asked the parliamentarians not to obstruct the adoption of the Basic Law of the Russian Federation at its first reading, as there was nothing better for the time being.

The question of the assembly of Russian citizens scheduled for 4 April was raised during the "warm-up" to yesterday's morning session. Some speakers described it as an unruly assembly and recommended that it take place not in the Kremlin Palace, but in the village of Voronovo, which has become known thanks to the holding there of the Sixth Congress of People's Deputies of the Former USSR. It was resolved to discuss this question at the session after requisite information had been obtained.

It was resolved during the "warm-up" period to hold parliamentary hearings prior to the congress on the state of radiation safety in connection with the accident at the Leningrad AES [nuclear electric power station] and to hear the president report on the results of the Kiev meeting of CIS heads of state. Khasbulatov stressed that if the government decides to free prices on sources of energy, he will be forced to raise in parliament the question of rescinding such a decision. The Supreme Soviet could agree to raise prices on sources of energy by, say, 40 percent, but in no way by five to ten times, he observed, and then only with the asseent of parliament. The Supreme Soviet chairman also reported that on 26 March he will fly to Alma-Ata, where he will discuss questions concerning the creation of an interparliamentary assembly of CIS countries.

The hour-long discussion ended with the Supreme Soviet adopting the preamble and first section of the draft Constitution as the basis.

Experts Conclude Economic Crisis Deepening

LD2603151192 Moscow TASS in English 1435 GMT 25 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow March 25 TASS—The Russian Government's strategic policy to improve the economic situation in the country arises no doubts, though the methods used for its implementation are rather alarming, analysts of the Russian Center for Market and Price Policy Studies told the Russian Parliament on Wednesday [25 March].

Analysing the development of the Russian free market experts arrived at a conclusion that economic crisis in the Russian economy is deepening. It happens due to errors in implementing economic reforms, especially the expansion of monopoly structures.

In addition to monopolies in industry, trade monopolies have also emerged which leads to a sharp drop in the quality of production and concealment of incomes, experts said.

The plan to balance the budget in the short period of time of three to six months is a mistake. This policy will entail further price increases and high taxes.

Free market prices and the absence of control over wages and salaries do not help stabilise the situation either, experts stated in their economic forecast submitted to the Russian parliament.

Academicians Comments on Economic Policy

MK2603141192 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 26 Mar 92 pp 1, 2

[Aleksey Zuychenko report under the "Conflict" rubric: "The Academic Elite Is Actively Joining In the 'Assault' on the Russian Government. 'The Academicians Want To Stay Nice and Clean,' Yegor Gaydar Believes"]

[Text] The economic policy of the Russian Government is coming in for criticism that is unprecedented in its intensity and tone from the academic establishment in the persons of Academicians Nikolay Petrakov, Oleg Bogomolov, Georgiy Arbatov, and the eye doctor and entrepreneur Svyatoslav Fedorov. At the parliamentary hearings on the course of the economic reforms that were held Tuesday [24 March], they practically demanded the resignation of Yegor Gaydar's cabinet and the introduction of "major corrections to the blueprint for the reforms and current policy."

In the opinion of Academician Petrakov, who was the first to speak, "there are three or four dozen superb specialists backing this government, and it wouldn't be a bad thing if they were to be called upon to offer their services." Moreover, if his economic ideas are put into practice, "it will be possible to avoid resignation by carrying out a thorough reshuffle [rotatsiya]."

Nikolay Petrakov rejected rumors that he himself is aiming for a place in the new government, and accused members of the present government of spreading these rumors.

Academician Bogomolov suggested that it is no accident that Gaydar's cabinet is heeding the advice of some Western economists and completely ignoring the advice of others. In the academician's opinion, it is perfectly possible that there are "certain circles" that are striving to derive profit from our sorry plight. "This used to be called public denunciation," Economics Minister Andrey Nechayev commented on the scientist's remarks.

Georgiy Arbatov, reminding the audience of an old joke, revealed the secret of why a certain brothel was so successful—the girls worked shifts. "It is time to change the girls," the academician said, looking at First Vice Premier Yegor Gaydar, who was sitting in the front row.

"We are not such idiots as to go on working for you. We have reached rock bottom, we are not working, and we are waiting for you to go," Svyatoslav Fedorov stated in his speech. In the opinion of many witnesses, his speech, in which he confessed to not declaring taxable income, should be of particular interest to tax inspection workers and the Prosecutor's Office.

It is possible to divide the criticisms of Gaydar's government that were made by the academicians in their speeches into economic and political categories. The latter category mainly revolves around the dalliance with the IMF, which, according to Georgiy Arbatov, "must be combated." "They boast that they have overthrown more governments than all the military coups put together. I can reconcile myself to losing the economic part of the government, but I do not want to lose Yeltsin."

Concentrating on the economic part of the speeches made by his opponents, Yegor Gaydar apologized in advance for rumors that are alleged to have originated in the government about Nikolay Petrakov's bid for a post in the new cabinet. "From what I know of Nikolay Yakovlevich," Gaydar stated, "he has never displayed any masochistic tendencies."

The essence of the economic accusations directed at the government is in short around that it is trying to balance the budget so soon after price liberalization. One of the demands put forward by Academician Petrakov is to abandon this idea for the next two years, stimulate business activity by reducing rates of taxation, abolish the tax on investments, and immediately index working capital and savings made by enterprises and citizens. While upholding a basically hyperinflationary model of reform, Petrakov also criticized the government's credit policy, bemoaning what is in his view an overly high bank rate. Meanwhile the Central Bank's rate is 20 percent; the government believes that in current inflationary conditions this is a preferential interest rate and lowering the rate would mean directly subsidizing those lucky people who have managed to obtain credit. Observers note that, by demanding tax reductions and credits for industry, the academicians' group is now speaking out as an industrial lobby, inflaming passions in parliament and making the upcoming skirmish at the Congress even more painful. At the same time the real industrialists in the Supreme Soviet prefer to keep quiet, obviously realizing that the measures being taken are necessary and that wholesale provision of credit will only bring a new wave of inflation; they prefer to engage in behind-the-scenes talks with the government on obtaining the credits they need.

One explanation for the "bad behavior" of the academicians proposed by Yegor Gaydar is that they are "impelled by a passionate and maybe not so noble desire to cleanse themselves of the sins associated with the unpleasant consequences of economic reform as quickly as they possibly can."

Regional Affairs

Burbulis, Delegation Arrive in Komi Republic

LD2703050492 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0335 GMT 27 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Viktor Makarov]

[Text] Syktyvkar, 27 Mar (ITAR-TASS)—Gennadiy Burbulis, Russian Federation secretary of state and coordinator of the Russian tripartite commission for settling social and labor relations, flew into Syktyvkar at midnight on 26 March. He is leading a representative delegation which includes Deputy Premiers Valeriy Makharadze and Aleksandr Shokhin and heads of Russian ministries and departments.

The trip was brought about by social and economic problems which have been exacerbated to the utmost in the northern republic of Komi and which cannot be resolved without the participation of the Russian Government.

The members of the Russian Government delegation are scheduled to meet with representatives of different categories of working people, coordination councils, and strike committees. The task to get together to find and implement solutions to the most acute problems; to prevent a conflagration of strikes from flaring up; and to unite the working people in carrying out the economic reforms.

Dudayev Counts on Dissolution of Parliament

OW2603204092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1853 GMT 26 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Chechen President Dzhakhar Dudayev attaches hopes for the cloudless future of his republic to the dissolution of the Russian parliament and the rise of "true democrats" to power. He expressed his views at a Thursday [26 March] meeting with intellectuals and cultural workers in Groznyy. According to the leader, "Possible and averted provocations on the part of Russia are stains on the conscience of individual Russian leaders who cannot understand that the Chechen people will never give up their freedom".

Speaking of the 160 million roubles in cash received by his republic several days ago from Russia Dzhakhar Dudayev called them a result of his understanding with oil extracting and processing regions on joint actions in the event of a financial and economic blockade by Moscow.

The Chechen leader promised the meeting that foreign partners will buy oil products at top world prices from Checheniya. "We have no problems with supplying the republic with various goods", he said. Still he admitted problems in distribution, because "everything that is delivered immediately disappears".

In conclusion he expressed the wish that intellectuals would take more active part in the current constructive processes in the republic."

'Political Provocation' Seen

LD2603185692 Moscow TASS in English 1830 GMT 26 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sharip Asuyev]

[Text] Groznyy March 26 TASS—The Chechen people have gained state independence and it will give it away not for the world, Chechen President Dzhakhar Dudayev told today's meeting with creative and scientific intellectuals.

He described the Russian leadership's initiative to break Checheno-Ingushetia into two republics as "a political provocation aimed against both fraternal peoples". Caucasian people can "withstand the imperial policy of Russia" only if they join their forces, in the opinion of Dudayev.

He stressed he has been and remains an advocate of the single economic space with all the states of the former Soviet Union, and primarily with Russia. However, in his words, Russia does not want to achieve mutual understanding and continues various provocations against the Chechen republic, including the economic and fiscal blockades.

Dudayev claimed his initiative to unite efforts of oil-extracting republics against the Russian dictate "is already bringing results."

Central Bank Grants Chechen-Ingush Rubles

OW2603133192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2030 GMT 26 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] IF [INTERFAX] learned that the Russian Central Bank had delivered to Groznyy 150 million rubles to handle cash shortages in Chechen-Ingush. One of the Russian people's deputies told IF that the Chechen leader Dzhakhar Dudayev had interpreted this step "in an original way" claiming that Russia started to pay off the debt of 2 billion rubles it has owed, in his opinion, to the Chechen Republic since its proclamation.

IF learned that 150 billion rubles were granted to Chechen-Ingush by decision of the Russian Central Bank's Council of Directors.

Sobchak 'Not in Opposition' to Government

LD2603190592 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1600 GMT 26 Mar 92

[Text] St. Petersburg Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak had a meeting with journalists today. They included our correspondent, Matvey Frolov.

[Frolov] The news conference began in a rather unusual way. The first question was: There have been rumors, and local newspapers have written about this, about your possible resignation. Is this so? Anatoliy Aleksandrovich noted that there can be no question of any resignation. I was elected by the city's inhabitants for five years, he said, and I intend to serve out these five years for the benefit of my city.

The discussions went on to touch upon Mayor Sobchak's attitude toward the Russian Government's economic reform. Here is what he had to say:

[Begin Sobchak recording] I am not criticizing the government. I am not in opposition to the government, but I would like to raise the issue that the time has come now to take very serious fundamental decisions, on which the future of the country and the people depends, and that the first stage of reform has now ended. At this stage it is necessary to stop, look around, and make the correct décisions. We have accomplished a far-reaching breakthrough and sensed what we are capable of and what realistic opportunities exist. We have lagged behind and our flanks have been laid bare. It is necessary to put finances and pricing in order. It is necessary to put the population's incomes in order and to carry out the indexation of incomes. Later on, other decisions can be made.

My only criticism is that, if at the present time it is decided to free fuel prices—and to all intents and purposes this already has been decided, and, although a general decision has been postponed till June, producers already are able to sell 40 percent at freed prices—it will entail a further, several-fold increase in prices. Then the overwhelming majority of this country's inhabitants simply will be unable to exist. All of the reforms and everything else will become senseless. That is my position. At the present time one must not advance in the wake of various declarations without looking to the side. What gives rise to real and irreconcilable criticism are the IMF demands and the government's memorandum. It is not a matter of political capital, but of the adoption of decisions without which the country simply will not survive. It is an understanding of this that at present is making me speak out for all to hear and to appeal to public opinion.

There was a time when I considered that one could not criticize the government and that one could not at the beginning of the reforms say that the reforms lacked a program and inevitably would reach an impasse. It was necessary to give it a try and indeed to travel this path to reach the same conclusions—that nothing will come from travelling in this way along the path of liberalized prices in conditions of a state monopolized economy and that it is impossible that the economy will begin to operate by itself, so to speak, in this arbitrary setting as a market economy does. The necessary market elements do not exist. That is all, and my position is fairly obvious. [end recording]

Sobchak Cites 'Fundamentally' Different Draft

MK2603112592 Moscow KURANTY in Russian 26 Mar 92 p 4

[Account by Nikolay Andreyev of remarks by A. Sobchak, mayor of St. Petersburg and member of the Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms Political Council, at news conference; place and date not given: "Draft Smacking of the Times of Socialism"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] The Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms, meeting in St. Petersburg, recently discussed the draft new Russian Constitution and deemed it to be unsatisfactory. A. Sobchak, mayor of St. Petersburg and member of the Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms Political Council, was instructed to head a group to prepare an alternative draft. Addressing a news conference, A. Sobchak described the document prepared within the Russian Supreme Soviet as a draft smacking of the times of socialism.

[Sobchak] It repeats the mistake of all previous socialist constitutions: It is verbose and it contains vague general provisions that yield nothing in the legislative plane. The draft contains too few fundamentally new ideas. This applies above all to two fundamental points: Russia's national-state structure and the correlation between the different branches—the presidential, parliamentary, and executive branches. As submitted, the constitution does not accord with Russia's needs, and especially its future.

Unfortunately, the situation that arose during the elaboration of the draft USSR Constitution—I was a member of the Constitutional Commission then—has been repeated. Work was conducted secretly, by a narrow circle of people, and even many of us commission members were not involved in it. As a result, as is well known, nothing came of it. So now, when I have formed a working group made up of eminent legal specialists like Alekseyev, Kalmykov, Lazarev, and Vengerov, it transpires that the Russian Supreme Soviet has not looked to any of them for consultations.

Clearly, this draft too has been prepared in secret, and so it has turned out to be unprofessional and vulnerable to criticism.

In general I am not going to talk about our alternative draft. For the moment I can only say that it contains many points that are fundamentally different from Rumyantsev's.

Today I am going to dwell on just one idea—Russia's national-state structure. What did we get bogged down in first in the former Union, and now in Russia? The Lenin-Stalin idea of creating autonomous formations. The principle of the national-state structure that was lauded for many years in fact was reactionary and led to only one result: infringement of the rights of all nations without exception—both large and small. For instance, as a result of implementation of the principle of creating autonomous formations four million Ukrainians found themselves outside Ukraine and settled in Russia. The same thing happened to many other nationalities, which also found a home in Russia. But the point is that today they have no representation at all in the supreme organs of power of the Russian Federation, which has become their second home. Yet national autonomous formations with far fewer inhabitants are represented in these organs of power.

That is not all. We constantly run up against the fact that the interests, say, of Tatars living outside Tatarstan (and that is about three-fourths of ethnic Tatars) are totally without protection in this situation. And when we speak of the nationalities problem, we are thinking of national traditions, language, and the opportunity to study in your own school, publish your own paper, and so forth.

I also want to mention an idea that, I will make no secret of the fact, we have taken from the experience of Russian statehood. We need to have a separate treaty with every people within the Russian Federation and to switch to treaty-based relations between the Federation and each national-state formation. It must be borne in mind that these formations will be totally different. For instance, in tsarist Russia it was regarded as sufficient for Istlyandia to delegate separate legislation on land and ownership, Finland had its own parliament, and relations with Bukhara were based on a third scenario.

I don't mean to imply that this was an ideal approach in resolving the nationalities question—it bore the traces of tsarist autocracy and the imperial organization of power. But the very idea of treaty-based terms for entry into the Federation seems to me fruitful in the light of historical and other particular features.

The most important point is that we intend all this merely for the transitional period. In the future, when we have created both a single legal and a single socioeconomic space, it will be a question merely of national-cultural autonomy. In the long term it is possible to speak of unified structural formations like the states in America or the laender in Germany. But at present this is unacceptable to us. We must be pragmatic and proceed on the basis of what we have. The main thing now is to prevent the disintegration of the Russian state. The draft Russian Constitution we are elaborating is aimed primarily at this.

Tatar Parties' Goals After Referendum Eyed

OW2603204592 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1853 GMT 26 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The leadership of the Ittifak national party believes that after the referendum when a political step was taken the economy became more important. It is no less important to place local law-enforcement bodies and procurator's offices under the jurisdiction of Tatarstan.

The political council of the Movement for Democratic Reforms believes that Tatarstan should sign the federal treaty and an additional agreement with Russia giving priority powers to Tatarstan.

The parliamentary group Narodovlastie (Power of the People) says the referendum had no legal force, therefore its priorities remain the same: economic reforms and search of mutually-acceptable forms of relations with Russia.

The Kazan chapter of the Russian Democratic Party has proposed to the congress of People's Deputies and President Yeltsin as well as the city authorities of Kazan to declare the city a federal territory with the Russian constitution governing it. The majority of its members voted "no" during the referendum.

The Sovereignty committee interprets the outcome of the referendum as the indisputable wish of the people to leave the Russian Federation.

'Complex' Situation Exists for Border Guards

OW2603210592 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1853 GMT 26 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At present it is impermissible to withdraw border guards from Transcaucasia, because this can damage the interests of Russia. The statement was made at a Thursday [26 March] briefing in Moscow by the commander of the border guards of the CIS Colonel-General Ilya Kalinichenko. Withdrawal from Baltia will become impossible after international agreements are signed and the borderline is drawn.

General Kalinichenko said that the situation in the troops under his command is very complex. Last year twice as many officers resigned as in 1990 and some 15 hundred servicemen deserted from units.

He hoped that the decisions on border issues made at the Kiev summit of the CIS will stabilize the situation. The command of border guards urged the presidents of CIS countries to send 30% of conscripts, the rest will be drafted in Russia.

Journalists were also told that in the first two and a half months of the year over 19 hundred persons were detained crossing the borders of the CIS which is almost three times more than over the same period last year. In addition to the customs authorities border guards confiscated smuggled goods worth 3.2 million roubles, 137 firearms and a dozen of cars.

Since the beginning of the year there have been four attacks on border units.

Official Discusses Aims of Siberian Congress

LD2603170892 Moscow TASS in English 1441 GMT 26 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow March 26 TASS—Participants in a Congress of Siberia's People's Deputies, opening in Krasnoyarsk on Friday [27 March], do not intend to speak about the establishment of a certain "Siberian Republic", Vyacheslav Novikov, chairman of the Krasnoyarsk Territorial Council of People's Deputies, told ITAR-TASS today.

Reports about the possibility of the emergence of a "Siberian Republic" appeared in the Russian press simultaneously with information on the forthcoming congress which is being convened on the initiative of the Tomsk regional committee.

The principal aim of the congress, Novikov said, arises from the position in which this vast region has found itself. The organisers of the Siberian forum believe that it is essential to adjust the current economic reform in Russia so as to take into account the difference in the territories' starting conditions.

It is clear already now, Novikov pointed out, that a common policy is to the detriment of Siberia because the latter is mainly a raw materials producer, and the state of affairs is being aggravated with every passing day.

According to the first-channel television news programme Novosti, at the congress representatives of the authorities of more than 20 regions of western and eastern Siberia intend to uphold their interests in the light of nascent market relations with both former republics and the centre.

The convocation of the congress was prompted by a hard situation that has developed in Siberia: "Russia's highest prices of food, a shortage of energy carriers, heat, and a slump in industrial production", the news presenter said.

"But the Siberians are particularly disgruntled over a disparaging attitude to their requests and suggestions on the part of new republican governmental entities," the announcer emphasised.

Congress organisers, according to ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA, view the Siberian congress as a "certain way of putting pressure on the centre in the interests of territories" and they can hardly be suspected of separatism.

"The latest version of the constitution, i.e., a federative set-up of Russia, and the fact that we (territories and regions—note by ITAR-TASS) will be granted rights equal to those of republics suit us," Ye. Dobryanskiy, chairman of the congress organising committee, said in an interview with the first television channel today.

At the same time Dobryanskiy is seriously concerned over the recently observed "curbing of the idea of a

reasonable decentralisation of power in Russia", which, in his view, "promotes the preservation of a single state and will not allow a repetition of the fate of the USSR."

Congress organisers said that no decisions would be taken in Krasnoyarsk because the congress is not provided for by the constitution in any way. The congress intends only to work out proposals and recommendations to adjust the economic reform so as to pass them on to Russian deputies from Siberia, organisers pointed out.

North Ossetia To Form Own National Guard

LD2603204792 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1839 GMT 26 Mar 92

[From the "Military News" section]

[Text] Vladikavkaz—Northern Ossetia will have its own National Guard, said its commander, Maj.-Gen. (retd.) Kim Tsagolov. Tsagolov told PF [POSTFACTUM] that the parade of sovereignties which is being demonstrated by republics of the former Union has brought about the establishment of the necessary attributes of sovereignty, specifically the creation of armed detachments in the republics. This is, in his opinion, an objective process which should not be resisted. Tsagolov said that part of the National Guard being formed (probably a battalion) will be stationed in Vladikavkaz, and some companies should be formed in several major urban centres of Northern Ossetia.

Training will be done in the National Guard similar to the way it is done in army units: tactics, shooting training, learning manuals, etc. Thus we will promote the creation of the reserve for the Army, said Tsagolov. Since, according to the statutes, only those who have served in the armed forces can be enlisted in the National Guard, the military commissariats will not have to summon these people for military training, the general said. The statute of the national guard adopted by the Supreme Soviet, says that the republican guard is part of the Russian National Guard. Ossetia has been, is, and will always be one with Russia, Tsagolov said. In his view, the government of the Russian Federation should assist in the creation of national guards of all the republics which are firmly in favor of the preservation of the Russian Federation.

International Affairs

Further on Kravchuk's Visit to India

Continues Meetings

LD2603163492 Moscow TASS in English 1559 GMT 26 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Boris Zaytsev]

[Text] New Delhi March 26 TASS—Today's negotiations between Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk and Indian high officials revealed mutual understanding and the similarity of stands on current topical issues.

The meeting with Indian President Ramaswamy Venkataraman, Vice-President Shankar Dayal Sharma and State Minister of Trade P. Chidambaram stressed the availability of a solid basis for the expansion and consolidation of the Ukrainian-Indian relations.

When meeting Indian Foreign Minister Madhavsinh Solanki, Leonid Kravchuk pointed to the need for comprehensive development of the Ukrainian-Indian ties. He expressed the assurance the consolidation of bilateral relations will correspond to the interests of the Ukrainian and the Indian people.

Kravchuk and Solanki noted the similarity of their views on the development of sovereign states. Nuclear disarmament and equal economic development should be the basis of independent countries' progress, in the opinion of the sides.

Touching on the terrorism problem, the Ukrainian president and the Indian foreign minister resolutely denounced any attempts to solve disputable issues by force. They called for peaceful settlement of all issues at the negotiations table.

Visit 'Historic Landmark'

LD2703084992 Moscow TASS in English 0736 GMT 27 Mar 92

[Report by ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Karmalito]

[Text] New Delhi March 27 ITAR-TASS—A mutual interest of Ukraine and India in the development of relations of friendship and cooperation was the main subject of dialogue at summit level that was begun during the official visit to this country by Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk.

This is also evidenced by meetings and talks with Indian leaders, which were high on the agenda of the high guest's visit on Thursday [26 March].

Covering the visit, the local press takes note of the sincere atmosphere which marked the exchange of views on bilateral issues and urgent international issues.

Indian President Ramaswamy Venkataraman praised Kravchuk's visit as a "historic landmark" in promoting Indian-Ukrainian relations, which were inaugurated by India's recognition of Ukrainian independence last December.

Speaking at the reception on Thursday evening, he said that "the blossoming of Ukraine as an independent state opened new diverse possibilities for greater interaction between the two countries at the level of governments, institutions, business circles and interpersonal relations."

Venkataraman reaffirmed India's readiness to share its expertise in the management of the mixed economy and in dealings with international commercial and financial institutions.

According to Venkataraman, the documents due to be signed at the end of the visit will "lay down the necessary fqundation for lasting and multifaceted relations between the two countries, their mutually advantageous cooperation."

In his reply speech, Kravchuk said relations between Ukraine and India had deep-going history. During the delegation's brief stay on hospitable Indian land, "we have felt the good will and generosity of your people towards independent Ukraine and its envoys."

"We pin great hopes on this visit for the establishment of qualitatively new relations between our countries," he said.

Wide possibilities open today for the development of direct inter-state relations, mutually beneficial cooperation in various fields for the good of India and Ukraine and in the interests of the international community.

Kravchuk on Nuclear Policy

LD2703115192 Moscow TASS in English 1134 GMT 27 Mar 92

[Report by ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Karmalito]

[Text] New Delhi March 27 TASS—"Ukraine does not regard itself as a nuclear power now," Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk today told a press conference here, devoted to the results of his official visit to India.

"Ukraine is on the way to be turned into a nuclear-weapons-free and neutral state and this is its proclaimed goal," he noted. It does not intend to join any military blocs and shall adhere to the three principles of denuclearisation: not to have, produce or obtain nuclear weapons.

"We realise," Kravchuk stated, "that definite nuclear arsenals temporarilly remain on Ukrainian territory. They contain tactical and strategic nuclear weapons. According to our plans, tactical nuclear weapons shall be withdrawn under strict control from the territory of

Ukraine already this year, while strategic weapons shall be moved out of Ukrainian territory for subsequent scrapping in 1994."

"Ukraine does not intend to alter its approach to this problem," Kravchuk stressed. "We have only specified our policy in this area, saying that the process of withdrawal and destruction of nuclear weapons, now deployed on Ukrainian territory, shoud be carried out under strict control and on the basis of a corresponding agreement."

Comments on Results, CIS

LD2703120292 Moscow TASS in English 1140 GMT 27 Mar 92

[Report by ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Karmalito]

[Text] New Delhi March 27 TASS—Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk today stated that he was "very pleased" by the results of his official visit to India. "We were able to turn a qualitatively new page of Ukrainian-Indian inter-state relations," he told a press conference here.

"The main result of the visit is the treaty of friendship and cooperation we have signed, which is backed by agreements on economic and trade cooperation," Kravchuk said.

"We came to New Delhi with a desire to lay a solid foundation for our relations and we are pleased by the jointly accomplished work," the Ukrainian president stressed.

"The signed documents," Kravchuk continued, "are based on principles of equality, mutual respect of sovereign rights, territorial integrity, non-interference in each other's domestic affairs. They usher in a new stage in Ukrainian-Indian cooperation. They reflect our mutual interest in continuing the earlier established traditions and our desire to promote them. We believe they will contribute to the stabilisation of the economic situation in Ukraine and, therefore, we attach great importance to them."

Kravchuk noted that Ukraine was devoting particular attention to the development of cooperation with India in the political sphere. Explaining his republic's policy, Kravchuk said Ukraine's proclaimed goal is to become a nuclear weapons free and neutral state. "It does not intend to join any military blocs and shall adhere to the three free principles of denuclearisation: not to have, produce or obtain nuclear weapons," he stressed.

"I want to make a special point of the fact that Ukraine reaffirms its adherance to the noble goals and principles of the New Delhi declaration. As one of the U.N. founders, it shapes its foreign policy in such a way as to strengthen peace and international security," the president stated.

Asked whether the Commonwealth of Independent States could fall apart, Kravchuk noted that the question was incorrectly worded. "How can we speak about the Commonwealth's disintegration, when it has not been set up yet, when the principles for its existance have not been worked out?", he inquired. "Some CIS nations want to perpetuate the old model of relationships within the frameworks of a union, but Ukraine wants inter-state relations to be based on principles of independence and all the problems to be settled by means of agreements, preliminary consultations and talks. If we manage to draw up such new principles, the Commonwealth will exist. If this does not happen, the Commonwealth will not fall apart, because it has not been created yet," the Ukrainian president noted.

Flies to Bombay

LD2703140692 Moscow TASS in English 1309 GMT 27 Mar 92

[Report by ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Karmalito]

[Text] New Delhi March 27 TASS—Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk, currently on an official visit to India, left New Delhi today for a tour of the country.

Taking part in the official farewell ceremony, held at the presidential palace here, were Indian President Ramaswamy Venkataraman, Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao and other officials.

From the Indira Ghandi airport, the president's special liner flew to Bombay, India's major industrial and cultural centre.

Indian Official in Odessa Comments

OW2603165192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1350 GMT 26 Mar 92

[Report by M. Mayorov, I. Porshnev and others from "Diplomatic Panorama"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] India and Ukraine have many common interests, said A.G. Sarma [name as received], India's Consul in Odessa, in connection with the present visit to Delhi by the Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk. Indian farm experts, A.G. Sarma told the "HOLOS UKRAYINY" newspaper, could share their experience with Ukrainian farmers.

According to A.G. Sarma, there is every opportunity for Ukraine and India to establish effective cooperation in other areas too. India is interested in receiving further aid from Ukraine in the development of its heavy industry, the Consul said. It's common knowledge that Ukrainian specialists took part in building and equipping India's biggest smelting plants in Bokaro and Bhilai.

President L. Kravchuk was the third CIS leader to make a trip to Delhi. Earlier this year India was visited by President Nursultan Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan and by

his Uzbek counterpart Islam Karimov. The coming autumn Russia's President Boris Yeltsin might also pay a visit to Delhi, even though this is not certain yet.

Relations Established With Cape Verde

AU2603153892 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1500 GMT 25 Mar 92

[Text] The Republic of Cape Verde has become the first country of tropical Africa to have established diplomatic ties with Ukraine.

As Viktor Nahaychuk, chief of the Press Center of Ukraine's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, informed the NOVYNY television and radio agency, agreements on establishing such relations between the two countries were signed today. On behalf of Cape Verde, that country's ambassador [name indistinct], who has arrived in Kiev on an official visit today, put his signature.

National Affairs

Kravchuk Interviewed on Sub-Carpathian Autonomy

LD2603223192 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 2030 GMT 26 Mar 92

[Excerpts] The more developed, more refined democracies have been well aware for a long time that the self-determination of nations is not an issue of numbers, since both large and small nations have a right to this. However, in many parts of the world, thus here in East Europe, and especially in the Balkans, the nationalist and communist ruling stratum nowadays still denies the rights of national minorities. This is a source of dangerous tensions. [passage omitted] The signs are that Ukraine wishes to catch up with Europe by recognizing the nationality and self-government rights of all the peoples living in Sub-Carpathia, including the Magyars. Ukraine thus promises to be a heartening, although unique, East European example. This is the subject of a report by Ferenc Szaniszlo, from Sub-Carpathia.

[Begin recording] [Szaniszlo] [passage omitted] In Kiev, we should like to learn from Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk when the Magyars of Sub-Carpathia can get the autonomy which was promised before the referendum in December of last year. When will the issue of the autonomy of Sub-Carpathia go before parliament? The people who live there, especially the Magyars, well remember your election promises.

[Kravchuk, in Ukrainian fading to Hungarian translation] I am certain that parliament will approve the proposal. I have every reason to be so. I am acquainted with the committees' stance, and also the opinions of several deputies. They are in favor of Sub-Carpathia gaining this status, all the more so since what is at issue is not where Sub-Carpathia should belong. This region wishes to remain a part of Ukraine. However, we take historical characteristics, the current situation, the proximity of the borders, and so forth, into consideration . Thus, a possibility is opening for Sub-Carpathia to gain a special autonomous status. This is also necessary for the better utilization of its economical potential. I am convinced that parliament will agree to this proposal.

[Szaniszlo] Yet it is necessary to decide on two issues—the administrative independence of Sub-Carpathia and the autonomy of the Magyar-inhabited areas there.

[Kravchuk] These are, indeed, two issues. If we speak about the Magyar-inhabited areas as nationality districts, this is the second phase. For my part, I have no objection to a nationality area being formed in places where the Magyars, or let us say the Romanians, the Bulgarians, or any other nationality, live in a majority.

By the way, at one time, during the 1930's, there were some 100 such areas here in the Ukraine, if I remember correctly. The Germans had their own, as did many other nationalities. Therefore, this issue can be resolved, but it is necessary to prepare laws that define the legal status of such areas exactly.

[Szaniszlo] Do you think this could happen in this half-year?

[Kravchuk] In my opinion yes, since the documents are almost ready. Now everything depends on Parliament. For my part, I would support, indeed I shall propose this solution. I shall also try to convince the deputies that this is the appropriate decision. [end recording]

New Cabinet of Ministers Appointments

AU2603172392 Kiev URYADOVYY KURYER in Ukrainian No 12 (58), Mar 92 p 2

[Text] The Cabinet of Ministers has appointed Volodymyr Ivanovych Kholosha as Ukraine's deputy minister for questions of the protection of the population from consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl Atomic Electric Power Plant and chief of the administration of the right of way [vidchuzhennya] zone.

Chilachava, Raul Shalvovych, has been appointed as deputy chairman of the Committee for Nationalities Affairs subordinated to the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine.

The government has approved members of the board of Ukraine's State Customs Committee. They are Boruchenko, Volodymyr Opanasovych; Vinnyk, Stanislav Fedorovych; Hrabovskyy, Oleh Borysovych; Kopach, Volodymyr Stepanovych; and Petrov, Oleksandr Pavlovych.

Udovenko, Hennadiy Yosypovych has been relieved of his duties as Ukraine's deputy minister of foreign affairs.

Cabinet Adopts Measures To Aid Farming

LD2603161692 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in English 0100 GMT 26 Mar 92

[Text] The Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine has adopted a resolution on certain issues of developing farming economy of the republic. This document contains a list of ministries and departments which are to supply farmers with required machinery, spare parts, fuel, mineral fertilizer, building materials, fodder, feeds, and livestock. Those citizens who move to remote rural areas with the aim of setting up farms there are supplied with allowances to the tune of 15 minimum wages [as heard] for every family member. They will have preference in receiving housing.

Ruble Abandonment Domestic Political 'Ploy'

MK2603131592 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 26 Mar 92 p 1

[Mikhail Leontyev article under the rubric "Money": "Ukraine Is in a Hurry To Leave the Ruble Area. President Kravchuk's Idea of Introducing a National Currency 1 April Is Clearly Purely Ideological"]

[Text] The implementation of Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk's idea of "leaving the ruble zone" and switching all transactions to Ukrainian coupons and freely convertible currency presents no threat to the Russian Government's monetary and financial policy in the short term: If Ukraine replaces its rubles in internal circulation with coupons and transfers the ruble assets it is using to Russia, this will save Russia from the constant dumping of rubles from Ukraine in cash and noncash form.

The sweet dreams of certain Ukrainian deputies that the Russian leadership will agree to exchange inflationary Ukrainian rubles for freely convertible currency at any rate acceptable to Ukraine will soon be totally shattered. And even if no remotely acceptable agreed solution is found, the one-shot dumping of rubles will make it possible to solve the problem by finally depriving Ukraine of its present ability to attribute to Russia its own constant noncash emission of money.

Moreover, Ukraine's need for rubles will inevitably remain at a high level: It has no hard currency reserves or sources of hard currency revenue. Rubles will be needed to pay for energy resources, and if the Russian Government's present tough monetary course is maintained, the ruble may become a more reliable means of exchange than the traditional barter. As of today all attempts to introduce national money surrogates have ended in failure, whether in Ukraine, in Lithuania, or in Kazakhstan. However, the reaction to this failure is determined not so much by economic as by political considerations.

The Ukrainian leadership, which feels a mystical fear of its own parliament, which is rather obsessed with the external attributes of independence, has been forced to react. But at the moment the reaction seems like something out of musical comedy. The date indicated in the document Kravchuk has submitted to parliament—1 April—is totally absurd; in this period parliament will scarcely have time to deal with Vladimir Matviyenko, the leader of the national bank, who has clearly been chosen as scapegoat for the first ignominious experiment in partial couponization. However, the very announcement of such a timetable shows that the style of Ukrainian economic policy has not changed. And nothing basically prevents the entry into force of new documents from 1 April.

However, while in the short term Ukraine's intentions may only push extra problems off the Russian "financial cart," in the long term the disintegration of monetary circulation in Russia's biggest economic partner and the rupture of numerous technological links are fraught with the gravest consequences for both Ukraine and Russia. So I still hope that Kravchuk is simply bluffing and the document he has submitted is the subtle ploy of an experienced ideologist both vis-a-vis Russia and, still more so, vis-a-vis his own parliament.

National Economic Policy Theses Detailed

PM2703104492 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 26 Mar 92 p 1,2

[Unattributed account of "main theses" of "Fundamentals of Ukrainian National Economic Policy": "L. Kravchuk's Report Was a Bombshell"—first three paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] The day before yesterday, as we have already reported, the idea presented by L. Kravchuk for a new economic program for Ukraine was approved at a closed Ukrainian parliament session (with just 24 votes "against" in all). The only criticisms to be voiced concerned the tactics for implementing it. The program aims to withdraw Ukraine from the single economic area of the CIS. In doing so, judging by the nature of the discussion in parliament, the republic government, which has its own economic program, does not intend to oppose the presidential program.

The presidential program was elaborated in the heart of the Ukrainian State Duma, an extra-constitutional body set up in February this year and headed by President Kravchuk. It was actually drawn up by a collective of economists led by Ukrainian State Counselor Aleksandr Yemelyanov, who formerly held various leading posts in the Ukrainian State Planning Committee system. At one time, Yemelyanov was considered for the position of republic Council of Ministers chairman.

Below we invite readers to familiarize themselves with the main theses of the "Fundamentals of Ukrainian National Economic Policy."

* [asterisk marks beginning of each "thesis"] Ukraine has never had its own economic policy. It does not have one today. Previously, in the context of the "USSR's

single national economic complex," this policy was formed on the basis of direct instructions, directives, plans, quotas, and other normative devices of the former Union organs.

Now, at a time when Ukraine has become an independent state and the Union center has ceased to exist, our economy continues to be managed from afar, now through financial, monetary, and pricing policies. In practice, Ukraine has not taken, indeed has not been able to take, any serious independent decisions on the economy.

* All this has created a critical situation in the country's economy. It has to be said frankly that independence itself is in jeopardy. The most dangerous thing is that no real prerequisites for improving the situation even in the long term have yet been created...

* The temporizing stance adopted by Ukraine while Russia, possessing significantly greater reserves for export-currency opportunities, implements reforms; Ukraine's complete dependence on the existing integration in the two states' economies; Russia's usurpation of functions bequeathed by Union financial, banking, and other systems, and its monopoly on ruble printing facilities across the whole ruble area—all of these things place our economy in a very difficult position, which is growing steadily worse.

The next step in this direction is the Russian Government's new program (for the period from 1 April to 31 December 1992)... In this way, Ukraine will inevitably be drawn into a "price race"... Only Russia, which possesses its own "printing press" and full resource potential, could withstand such a "price race." At the same time, Russia is moving toward hyperinflation through unsecured currency issue while strictly limiting the entry of a new ruble supply into other CIS countries...

...The only possible outcome of this race (for Ukraine—editor) is collapse and total dependence on external diktat.

* The only real way of escaping the current situation and overcoming the looming disaster is through an economic policy which guarantees the impossibility of Ukraine's being drawn into an extremely dangerous price race and returning to a "single national economic complex."

Only the complete withdrawal from the ruble area and the swift introduction of a separate currency to coincide with price liberalization in Russia can provide such a guarantee...

* We must realize that the achievement of balance will inevitably entail a fall in deliveries of scarce goods purchased from Russia and other CIS countries, which in turn will lead to a reduction in production volumes, temporary unemployment, and a fall in income for workers at a number of enterprises... At the same time, calculations show that the consequences of prolonging the current economic policy could be significantly worse.

* ...The structural reform policy should include:

—a gradual reduction in imports from countries in the ruble zone through the introduction of an austerity policy...

—a reorientation toward new markets or cuts in the output of products whose cost at world prices is higher than the sale price...

—the exploitation of Ukraine's monopoly in producing certain types of product when forming relations, particularly clearing contracts, with states in the ruble zone;

—the introduction of a system of payment for freight transported through Ukraine's territory and for other types of work, on the basis of international norms...

—the speedy realization of the section of the Program of Emergency Measures To Stabilize the Ukrainian Economy and Extricate It From Crisis dealing with auctioning off incomplete construction projects, including those in the military industrial complex, for freely convertible currency...

—an immediate solution to questions of attracting foreign investors, including granting them ownership rights...

* ...It is planned to conduct monetary reform in the second half of 1992 by bringing a national currency unit—the hryvnya— into circulation...

...Ukraine intends to introduce an internally convertible national currency at the end of 1992... The first step toward this will be the introduction of a clearing system for accounts with ruble zone states. Basically, first the coupon, and later the hryvna will be freely quoted in relation to the ruble through one of the stable "hard" currencies...

* The inertia-based policy of creditors of the former USSR, which gear themselves toward Russia as the sole successor to the Union, forces Ukraine to seek additional financial markets. To do this, the state is stepping up talks with all countries of the world and with commercial banks on granting currency credits... When forming policy connected with Ukraine's foreign debts, it is vital to uphold the idea of individual responsibility, especially in the payment of commercial credits.

* ...In order to guarantee priority in foreign economic activity for Ukrainian facilities in relation to the facilities of other ruble zone states, it is planned:

—to introduce a system of priority transport provision for Ukrainian enterprises at customs posts for cargoes arriving by rail or sea;

—to introduce taxes and charges for all foreign facilities using Ukraine's transport infrastructure...

—to regulate customs tariffs and foreign economic activity along the length of the Ukrainian state border;

—to lift restrictions on the re-export of goods acquired by Ukrainian intermediaries in ruble zone states.

List Prepared for Goods That Require Licenses

LD2503171292 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in English 0100 GMT 24 Mar 92

[Text] The Ministry for Foreign Economic Ties and Commerce of Ukraine has prepared a new list of goods to be licensed by the Ministry for Export.

The list will be examined by the Supreme Soviet of the republic. Licenses will be allotted to only the producers of the goods and services and, as an exception, those enterprises who are occupied with mediatory activity.

Among the goods which require licenses are items produced by metallurgical and chemical industries, (?or) products and agricultural produce in place of consumer goods. The goods manufactured by joint ventures [words indistinct] are not subjected to licensing.

Major Gas Deposit Discovered in Kharkov Oblast

AU2603153592 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1500 GMT 25 Mar 92

[Text] A new gas deposit has been discovered in Kharkov Oblast. Gas has been recovered from the depth of 4,450 meters from lower carboniferous strata. Yosyp (?Dosedchuk), chief geologist of the team, believes that the well will yield up to 200,000 cubic meters of gas daily. According to tentative estimates, its total reserves amount to about 15 billion cubic meters. The drilling technicians continue their prospecting for the cheap fuel. Two kilometers away from the productive well, a new borehole has been started.

Miners Union Calls 24-Hour Warning Strike

MK2503151192 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 25 Mar 92 p 2

[Report under the "News in Brief" rubric: "Ukrainian Miners Have Decided To Strike"]

[Text] Owing to the "Ukrainian Government's unwillingness to resolve the questions that have been put to it," the Independent Trade Union of Ukrainian Miners has resolved to hold a "24-hour warning strike" and has called on "all trade union organizations formed by workers themselves... to pool their efforts in order jointly to uphold their common rights and interests against the power structures."

Donbass Political Leader Criticizes Government

LD2503104592 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1635 GMT 23 Mar 92

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] Donetsk—Participants in a rally, held in Donetsk on March 22, demanded that the Donbass region be granted the status of a land integrated in the federal Ukraine. Some 3,000 participants in the sanctioned rally, organized by the Socialist (former Communist) Party of Ukraine and the Donbass Internationalist Movement and devoted to the problem of the region's future, protested against the curtailment of democracy and self-government in Ukraine and demanded that the republican leadership preserve the common economic and information space on the territory of the former USSR. Participants in the rally accused the Ukrainian government of incompetence and announced that the president and the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine had no programme of overcoming the socio-economic crisis in conditions of the transition to a market-based system.

The rally adopted a resolution which protested against the liquidation of soviets, the onslaught of a new dictatorship in Ukraine and the intention of the Rukh organization to rehabilitate the Bendera Movement and the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists.

Dmitriy Kornilov, member of the coordinating council of Donbass Internationalist Movement, told PF [POSTFACTUM]: Kravchuk and his team are being led by Rukh, which is heading towards the withdrawal from the Commonwealth of Independent States. This would have disastrous consequences for the Ukrainian economy and for our region, and would further destabilize the political climate in the republic. The introduction of the institution of the president's personal envoys together with the absence of a counterbalance in provinces, specifically the self-government bodies, will lead to the revival of a totalitarian regime in Ukraine.

Physicians Appeal for Genetic Studies Assistance

AU2603152892 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1500 GMT 25 Mar 92

[Text] Physicians of Ukraine have appealed to the international community with a request to help them create in the republic an international center for studying the effect of small doses of radiation upon the genetic system of man. They believe that this will considerably upgrade the level of research conducted by scientists on the regulation of the genetic fund of the Ukrainian people who suffered great damage as a result of the accident at the Chernobyl Atomic Electric Power Plant.

Moldova

Moldovan Parliament Issues Statement on Dnestr

PM2603125592 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by Eduard Kondratov: "Moldovan Parliament Assesses Events in Dnestr Region as Aggression"]

[Text] Chisinau—The Moldovan Parliament has adopted a statement on the position adopted by the Russian leadership and Supreme Soviet with regard to the events taking place in the Dnestr region.

It notes that despite the meetings of the heads of state in Kiev and of the foreign ministers in Helsinki and the contacts between the parliamentarians of Moldova and Russia, which are promoting the easing of tension, "there is a further escalation of aggression against the sovereign state." Detachments of Cossacks are arriving from Russian territory and on 12 March the Central Bank of Russia made a decision which violates the unity of Moldova's banking system. The mass media based in Russia "are waging a purposeful campaign in support of the illegal organs of power" of the Dnestr region. As a result there has been a galvanization of actions against the lawful authorities, an increase in the number of refugees, destruction, and deaths.

Against this background, the Moldovan parliament believes, the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet's 20 March appeal "is perplexing, to say the least," because its content merely confirms the opinion of Russia, which in this case is disregarding the principles of noninterference in the internal affairs of states and the observance of their sovereignty. It is intolerable, the Moldovan parliament believes, to call the Dnestr region and Moldova "sides in the conflict" and to tell parliament exactly what measures it should take to normalize the situation and also to disregard the right of the Moldovan majority of the population of the left bank to the conservation of Moldova's integrity while at the same time recognizing the right "of the Dnestr people to fight for self-determination."

Equating the constitutional law enforcement organs of an independent state with the armed formations of guards and Cossacks is assessed by the parliament as a hostile act against Moldova, also creating a dangerous precedent for the Russian Federation itself.

The Moldovan parliament suggests once more to the Russian Supreme Soviet that it do everything necessary to fulfill the commitments adopted at the Kiev conference, to accelerate the ratification of treaties on the principles of interstate relations between Moldova and Russia, and that it open embassies.

Muravschi Meets CIS General on Arms Transfer

LD2603132892 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 26 Mar 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Moldovan Prime Minister Valeriu Muravschi met Major General Yuriy Netkachev, commander of the 14th Army of the CIS, on Wednesday [25 March]. Details of the implementation of President Mircha Snegur's recent decree on the transfer of all military units and arms situated on its territory to Moldovan jurisdiction were discussed at the meeting. Muravschi stressed Moldova's readiness to provide social guarantees to the servicemen and members of their families.

Snegur Praises Ukraine Approach to Transdnestr

OW2603192092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1638 GMT 26 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The President of Moldova Mircea Snegur has received a visiting delegation of the Ukrainian parliament led by the chairman of the foreign relations committee Dmitro Pavlychko.

He voiced hope that the visit of Ukrainian MPs [minister of parliament] to Chisinau will speed up the signing of a treaty of friendship and neighborliness between the two countries.

Once again he praised the opinion of Ukraine that the arrival of new Cossacks' formations from Russian in the conflict zone should be prevented.

President Snegur also disclosed intentions to offer the Transdnestr region the status of a self-governed free economic zone with a capital in Dubossary or Tiraspol. "Naturally the zone would not have a parliament or president", he said. According to Mircea Snegur, a federation is unacceptable for small Moldova.

Snegur Urges Azerbaijan To Lift Blockade

NC2603204692 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1950 GMT 26 Mar 92

[Text] The Armenian president's press service has informed that Moldovan President Mircea Snegur sent a message to Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet Chairman Yakub Mamedov on 25 March. A copy of the message also was sent to Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan.

The message notes in particular that the Moldovan people and leadership have always come forward in favor of resolving conflicts peacefully and solving contentious issues and differences through negotiations.

It is not for the first year that I am following with distress the developments in Nagorno-Karabakh and the strained relations between Armenia and Azerbaijan as a

result of which both the Azerbaijani and Armenian peoples are suffering, Snegur says in the message.

Noting with regret that innocent people, women, children and elderly are suffering from the conflict, Snegur deplored the fact that the people's suffering is also partially caused by the economic sanctions the countries have imposed against each other. The Azerbaijani Government has prohibited the transport of liquid fuel destined for Armenia through its territory. Deploring this fact, the president of Moldova appealed for the lifting of this prohibition in order to ensure normal conditions for vital economic activity in neighboring Armenia.

In conclusion, Snegur again called on the Azerbaijani leadership to resolve the disputes through political means and to refrain from imposing any kind of blockades, which have grave consequences not only for Azerbaijan and Armenia, but also for the other CIS countries.

Speaker Accuses Russia of Interference

OW2603210292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1853 GMT 26 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The chairman of the Moldovan parliament has accused the Russian leadership of interference in the internal affairs of his country. At a meeting with the head of the American diplomatic mission in Moldova Howard Stears, Aleksandr Moshanu said the Russian leadership has not denounced the armed intervention of Cossacks in Moldova, moreover, it supports the arrival of new armed formations from Russia in the self-proclaimed Transdnestr republic. He stressed that this interference and covert support for the leaders in Tiraspol are serious obstacles to the settlement of the conflict by peaceful means. Aleksandr Moshanu said that Moldova might appeal for help to international organizations.

Transformer Substation 'Blasted by Terrorists'

LD2603175792 Moscow TASS in English 1701 GMT 26 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Roman Zadunayskiy]

[Text] Moscow, March 26 TASS—A transformer substation was blasted by terrorists with the use of grenade launchers last night in Grigoriopol, the Dnestr region, Dnestr radio staffer Olga Kondorskaya told ITAR-TASS over the telephone today.

In her words, no electricity is now supplied to practically all Moldovan villages of the region. Lands of half of private and collective farms are not watered. The irrigation system in the Dnestr region is not functioning that mainly hurt local countryside Moldovans.

According to experts' estimations, it will take two or three months to restore the substation.

The terrorists were detained by the Dnestr police. Investigation is under way.

Dnestr Leader Issues Decrees on Mobilization

LD2603203692 Moscow TASS in English 2003 GMT 26 Mar 92

[By special ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Gondusov]

[Text] Tiraspol, March 26 TASS—A decree "On Measures to Ensure Security of Citizens and Protect the Territory of the Dnestr Moldovan Republic from Armed Aggression" has been signed in Tiraspol by the president of the Dnestr Moldovan Republic not recognized by Moldova.

The document stressed Moldova is actively preparing for combat operations, which is proved by the Moldovan capture of armaments and materiel in CIS military formations stationed in Moldova, mobilization of men liable for call-up, and staging of terrorist acts against policemen, civilians and economic facilities of the Dnestr region.

In this connection, the president of the Dnestr Moldovan Republic resoluted [as received] that all CIS military formations stationed in the Dnestr region should implement the resolution of the republican parliament and the government on the Armed Forces of the Dnestr Moldovan Republic.

Under the decree, the Dnestr region authorities plan "to announce partial mobilization of men liable for call-up of the Dnestr Moldovan Republic up to the age of 45".

Fighting on Left Bank of Dnestr Continues

AU2603222292 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 2000 GMT 26 Mar 92

[Report by Gabriel Ionescu]

[Text] Exchanges of fire were registered in all crisis areas on the left bank of the Dnestr River. I personally gathered the forthcoming information by accompanying a Chisinau radio team.

In the area of Cosnita, (Dorotskaya), and Pogrebea the use of automatic arms and the explosions of rockets from the Grad-type installations of the separatists continue. The battle was most intense from 1100 to 1300.

Yesterday at 1800 a seven-year-old child was injured seriously in an explosion of a Grad-type rocket and was taken to the Central Hospital in Criuleni. Today at 0200 a Cosnita defense forces volunteer was wounded and taken to that hospital. I want to specify that the Criuleni hospital, which is located on the right bank of the Dnestr in front of Cosnita and (Dorotskaya), around 500 meters from the conflict area, was the target of the separatists despite the fact that the physicians here—faithful to the Hippocratic oath—rendered first aid not only to people

injured while fighting for preserving Moldovan integrity, but also the wounded among the guardsmen and Cossacks.

From the city limits of Criuleni a few hundred meters away, one can see the Dubossary bridge that has been closed to traffic after it was damaged by the separatists. Its left side has been destroyed. Automobiles driving on the right bank of the Dnestr along a road parallel to Dubossary are compelled to drive at high speed because of the danger of being spotted by the separatists and then being fired upon.

In connection with the situation in Dubossary, I have learned some details from witnesses. The so-called local authorities have decided to close most enterprises with Romanian employees. The employees have been sent home without being paid.

The houses of Romanians have been burned. This particularly concerns those who have cooperated with the authorities of the Republic of Moldova. All buses in the town have been requisitioned and are being used exclusively by guardsmen and Cossacks. One interesting detail is that, according to some local people, there often are conflicts between guardsmen and the mercenary Cossacks. It seems that the Cossack forces are placed deliberately in front of the guardsmen whenever an attack is launched.

Today at lunch I crossed the Dnestr by ferry near the villages of Malovata and Cocieri, where a constant struggle for position is being waged just south of the villages. This area is of particular strategic interest because it is located close to Dubossary. According to police Colonel Patrascu, one of the commanders of the Interior Ministry subunits in Cocieri, the separatist forces tried unsuccessfully last night to break through police positions.

As far as I know, the Interior Ministry troops are observing the Conciliation Commission's decision on the cease-fire, but they are forced to defend themselves in case of bandit attacks.

In the afternoon and evening the exchanges of fire with automatic arms and large-scale machine guns intensified. The explosions caused by Grad-type rockets also increased.

Esteemed listeners, the conflict on the left bank of the Dnestr was the focus of discussion during President Mircea Snegur's meeting with a group of Ukrainian deputies. Snegur thanked the deputies for the moral support that has been given Moldova at this time of trial.

Snegur expressed the hope that neighborly relations will be consolidated even further with the signing of the treaty of cooperation between the two states.

Delegation leader (Dimitro Pavlichko), president of the International Relations Commission of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, reaffirmed his country's position on peacefully solving existing problems. He said that Ukraine will not permit Cossack mercenary detachments to enter its territory. We understand, (Pavlichko) added, that this self-styled republic on the left bank of the Dnestr was created by the former center and that it is our duty to speed the process of settling this conflict.

Movement Restrictions in Transdnestr Introduced

OW2603232792 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1638 GMT 26 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Moldovan Interior Ministry introduces restrictions on the movements of journalists visiting the conflict zone in the self-proclaimed Transdnestr republic. Passes will be issued daily at the press bureau of the ministry between 8:30 and 9:30.

Ministers in Helsinki Voice 'Concern' Over Moldova

PM2603134592 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by Viktor Volodin: "Conflict Can Be Resolved by Peaceful Means, Russian, Moldovan, Ukrainian, and Romanian Ministers Believe"]

[Text] Serious concern at the possible escalation of the conflict in the Left Bank regions of Moldova was expressed in a joint statement by the foreign ministers of Russia, Moldova, Ukraine, and Romania who have come to Helsinki for the meeting of CSCE states' representatives.

Despite the reports from the Left Bank that the truce concluded by the opposing sides is being observed as a whole, the situation in East Moldova is worrying the ministers who have come to Helsinki. The shooting which has been breaking out between the Dnestr region guards, the Cossacks, and the Moldovan police could spread like a steppe fire to the whole region, lead to new casualties, cause an increase in nationalist sentiments, and thus halt the development of democratic processes.

Considering the danger of this turn of events in the Dnestr region, the four ministers confirmed in Helsinki their governments' intention to prevent an escalation of violence through political talks. In the ministers' opinion, the disarming of illegal formations should be one of the basic elements of a peaceful settlement of the conflict in Moldova. It is planned to return to their places of residence "the foreign citizens brought into the confrontation" and to restore lawful power in the Dnestr region. Considering that the ministers took into consideration the Romanian Foreign Ministry statement that that country's citizens did not take part in the armed clashes, it can only be a case of formations consisting of volunteer Cossacks.

According to the statement adopted in Helsinki, henceforth Russia, Ukraine, and Romania intend to build relations with Moldova on the basis of respect for the

territorial integrity and independence of that state, which recently became a UN member. I think that this statement will strengthen the positions of the governments of Romania and Moldova in the face of the opposition which opposes the existence of two Romanian states and advocates the speediest unification of Moldova and Romania.

The ministers stressed the importance of observing the rights of national minorities in Moldova in accordance with UN principles and the norms of international law. To coordinate actions to settle the conflict, the ministers agreed on the creation of a mechanism of political consultations between representatives of the four countries, including at foreign minister level.

It looks as though the four states' previously uncoordinated appeals for peace in the Dnestr region have resounded unanimously on this occasion. A common platform has also been found for resolving the conflict—a peaceful settlement on the basis of Moldova's territorial integrity and respect for the rights of national minorities. A mechanism of consultations has been created which, in the opinion of the Russian, Moldovan, Ukrainian, and Romanian foreign ministers, can keep the conflict under control.

Foreign Minister Assesses CSCE Meeting

AU2703095092 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 2000 GMT 26 Mar 92

[Excerpt] The CSCE meeting of foreign ministers or their representatives ended today in Helsinki. At Helsinki airport, before their departure from Finland's capital city, Mr. Nicolae Tiu, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Moldova, and Mr. Adrian Nastase, Romania's minister of foreign affairs made statements to our correspondent. Mr. Nicolae Tiu said, among other things, that the participation of the Moldovan delegation was a positive thing, because it facilitated Moldova's integration in the all-European process and enabled it to present the position of the government, parliament, and president of the republic and thus brief the international community on developments in Moldova, particularly on the left bank of the Dnestr River.

Mr. Nicolae Tiu said that, after his address to the meeting, many ministers supported his position and were able to truly understand what is going on in the Republic of Moldova. Regarding the Helsinki process, he said that it is a crossroads and that a strategy should be worked out by the time of the meeting of the heads of state. [passage omitted]

Social Democrats Issue Statement on Dnestr

LD2503101892 Chisinau Radio Chisinau Network in Russian 1600 GMT 20 Mar 92

[Statement by the Social Democratic Party of Moldova in Connection with the Dnestr Crisis—read by announcer]

[Text] The recent tragic events on the left bank of the Dnestr provide convincing proof that the creation of the Dnestr republic and the unending territorial and political conflict in this connection are the result and real aim of actions by reactionary revanchist forces of the USSR and Russian Federation. They are trying to realize their geopolitical interests in the Black Sea area to the detriment of the interests of Moldova and also Ukraine. This is the logical conclusion of such acts as the creation of the Intermovement and the political strike allegedly in connection with the language law, which were led by enterprises in the military industrial complex and others.

At the same time, the inconsistent, ineffective, and vacillating policy of the republic power structures republic in resolving urgent problems of internal and foreign policy to all intents and purposes has promoted the emergence and realization of the idea of separatism. The perfectly natural orientation toward developing bilateral relations with Romania was not supported by the no-less natural development of goodneighborly relations with Ukraine. To a considerable degree Moldovan state interests paid insufficient attention to the interests and psychology of ethnic minorities. Having no clear political concept of a program for specific actions, the executive authorities of the Republic of Moldova did not take the necessary economic and sociopolitical measures to stabilize the situation, while certain decisions by the parliament Presidium merely made it worse.

The idea of rejecting the statehood of Moldova, which is being persistently foisted on society by the People's Front and several other groups of a radical nationalist persuasion, an idea which does not take into consideration patterns in the historical process such as changing the status and frontiers of European states—and this not at the start but at the end of the 20th century—has also objectively promoted the development of bellicose separatism.

The republic's leadership must finally acknowledge that Moldova is an independent State, and that it is recognized as such. This demands completely different levels and style of political activity. Structures and figures incapable of acting in accordance with historical perspective and the realities of the 20th century, taking into consideration the political situation, must be removed from political activity. Firm guarantees for the security and progress of the people's statehood cannot be built through filibustering and evasive policy and behavior lacking in initiative. Competent politicians must be brought into state management, politicians who react professionally to changes in the geopolitical situation around the republic, and to dangerous trends emerging within it. Only in this way will state power gain a reliable foundation, in contrast to its current basis in the nomenklatura, which is unstable and unconstructive. The Social Democratic Party of Moldova considers that any delay in implementing presidential powers which are capable of making up for the ineffectiveness of the

actions of parliament, particularly the depressing incompetence of the government, places entire responsibility for the future development of events on the president of the Republic.

[Signed] The Coordinating Council of the Social Democratic Party of Moldova.

Women's League Protest Inaction Over Refugees

LD2503094192 Chisinau Radio Chisinau Network in Russian 1900 GMT 23 Mar 92

["Text" of protest of the Christian Democratic League of Women of Moldova delivered on behalf of the Dnestr refugees—read by announcer]

[Text] The events on the left bank of the Dnestr are spreading and having an increasingly serious effect on the civilian population. The flow of refugees grows daily. More and more people are being forced to leave their homes of many years' standing and to wander. In these days, so difficult for all our people, the government is displaying indifference and passivity which cannot be judged as anything other than an inability to deal with matters. Hundreds of women and children are appealing to the League of Women for help, and our organization helps them as far as it can, but we cannot replace the government.

So far there has not been a count of refugees and nobody knows how many people have left their homes. The appropriate bodies do not even possess appropriate information, without which it is not possible to master the situation and forecast it. Ukraine knows how many of our refugees it has already taken in, and has disclosed these figures to the whole world. At the same time, we do not even have approximate data at our disposal.

It is extremely important to create a body to concern itself with the problems of refugees, taking account of international practice and norms in this matter. Dozens of people are asking for their relatives to be found. Others are sleeping at railway terminals, not knowing to whom to turn. We protest against such a government attitude and we demand that urgent measures are taken to help the refugees. Resolute action must be taken in the following directions:

First, urgent measures must be taken for a speedy settlement of the armed conflict. Second, the necesary measures must be carried out for placing adults in work and for placing children in pre-school and school establishments, since such a situation may last a long time. We call on the population of Moldova not to remain indifferent to the sufferings of mothers and children left homeless. Your help with food and material means will prove that we, not only in words but in deeds, are together with all who have fallen on hard times. May God help us to be united in grief in order to become united in joy.

On behalf of the refugees,
Executive Committee of the Chistian Democratic League of Women of Moldova.

Entrepreneurs Call for Free Economic Zone

LD2503090792 Moscow TASS in English 0721 GMT 25 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Demidetskiy]

[Text] Chisinau, March 25 TASS—Moldovan entrepreneurs voiced doubt over the suggestion by Moldova's Prime-Minister Valeriu Muravschi to settle the conflict in the Dnestr republic by creating a free economic zone in the republic. This was announced at a meeting of business people held in Chisinau on Tuesday [24 March] under the auspices of the republican Scientific-Industrial Union and the Association of Entrepreneurs and Lease-Holders.

The participants in the meeting, including representatives of the Dnestr republic, believe that the whole of Moldova should become a free economic zone.

Western businessmen, who refrain from investing in the republican economy because of the conflict in the Dnestr region also support the prospects of Moldova becoming a free economic zone.

Entrepreneurs demanded an end to the bloodshed in the republic and to resume talks between the conflicting sides. They believe that business people both from Moldova and the Dnestr republic should be included in a conciliatory commission for the successful completion of talks. As it is in the interest of Moldova's entrepreneurs to stop confrontation and they will quickly come to terms.

Turkmenistan

Cooperation Agreement Signed With Estonia

LD2603001492 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 2010 GMT 25 Mar 92

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] Ashkhabad—On March 25th, an intergovernmental agreement on mutual deliveries was signed between Turkmenia and Estonia for 1992 in Ashkhabad.

The agreement, signed by Jorakuly Babakulyev, a member of Turkmenistan Presidential Council, and Axel Treiman, minister of industry and economics of Estonian Republic, provides that in case one of the contracting parties is to introduce a national currency, the Governments of Turkmenistan and Estonia will sign a new agreement. Under the agreement, Turkmenistan is to supply Estonia with cotton fibre, wool, chemicals, including apsolut and glauber's salt, industrial goods. Estonia has pledged to deliver consumer goods, canned fish, paper, equipment. The agreement provides that all the accounts between the contracting parties are to be settled on a clearing basis.

In the course of the talks held in Ashkhabad, the Estonian delegation stated its intention to purchase 2,000 tons [tonnes] of cotton under direct contracts on top of 5,200 tons of cotton to be purchased under the agreement. Turkmen administration pledged its support in signing similar contracts in exchange for a pledge by the Estonian side to supply Turkmenistan with flour and dry milk which could be in short supply on account of the freezing of commercial relations between Turkmenistan and Ukraine.

Diplomatic Ties Established With Syria

JN2503151892 Damascus Syrian Arab Republic Radio Network in Arabic 1215 GMT 25 Mar 92

[Text] Ashkhabad—Official talks between the Syrian Arab side headed by Foreign Minister Faruq al-Shar' and the Turkmen side headed by Foreign Minister Avdy Kuliyev were held in Ashkhabad, capital of Turkmenistan, this morning.

Talks centered on the situation in Central Asian Islamic republics in general, and in Turkmenistan in particular. The talks also centered on the situation in the Middle East, the Arab-Israeli conflict, and the peace process which is based on international legitimacy and UN resolutions. The Turkmen side voiced its support for the Syrian position in dealing with Israeli intransigence. The two sides also discussed bilateral relations, and ways to bolster them in all fields in the interest of the two countries and the two friendly peoples.

The two sides signed an agreement to establish diplomatic relations between Syria and Turkmenistan on the ambassadorial level. The agreement was signed by the foreign ministers of the two countries, Faruq al-Shar' and Avdy Kuliyev.

Amnesty for Cotton Embezzlers Announced

LD2403184992 Moscow TASS in English 1615 GMT 23 Mar 92

[By CRIME PRESS-TASS correspondent Vladimir Zarembo]

[Text] Ashkhabad March 23 TASS—Forty one citizens of Turkmenistan, convicted for "embezzlement of socialist property" in the period of 1986—1990, were pardoned by presidential decree on March 19. The decree, signed by Turkmen President Saparmurad Niyazov, announced amnesty for former collective and state farm chairmen and Communist Party secretaries, who were convicted in the so-called "cotton affair" for report padding and other felonies pertaining to the production and distribution of cotton in one of the largest cotton-producing republics under communist rule.

The amnesty is the fourth of its kind during the past two years. More than 100 persons were accused of participating in the "cotton affair", and almost all of them have been set free by now. Those convicted by the former USSR Supreme Court are the only exception.

General Dismissed for Transporting Banned Goods

LD2303182192 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1500 GMT 23 Mar 92

[Video report from Ashkabad by correspondent Babayev—from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] A military transport plane travelling from neighboring Tajikistan on a Dushanbe-Yerevan flight nas been detained. Our correspondent's reportage gives the details.

[Babayev] We do not know what advance information the Committee for National Security of Turkmenistan had, but its officials acted most resolutely. The plane had barely taken off from a stop-over at a military airfield outside Ashkhabad when it was forced to land at the civilian airport by the air traffic control service. Food and manufactured goods in extremely short supply and worth approximately 1.5 million rubles were removed from the capacious hold of the AN-26. The load was accompanied by five civilians.

According to the crew members, based in Dushanbe, several commercial flights were made during 1991. Large consignments of honey, oil, wool, leather and other things were exported. The flights were carried out on the personal instructions of Major General Fedotov, deputy director of the Central Asian Border District responsible for aviation, for cash remuneration by one (Sarukhanyan), a resident of Ashkhabad.

The sources and persons who so generously supplied visiting businessmen with goods banned for export by presidential decrees of all the Central Asian states of the CIS still remain to be identified. A joint commission of the Procuracy, the Committee for National Security, the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Turkmenistan, and the Command of the Border Troops has been set up to examine this criminal case.

[Announcer] We have just been told by a correspondent from Turkmenistan that, in accordance with a decree of President Niyazov, Fedotov was today stripped of his rank of major general of aviation and has been dismissed from his post for actions, so it states, which discredit the military rank of officer.

Uzbekistan

Defense Minister Denies Reports of Arms Sales

LD2603192992 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1500 GMT 26 Mar 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] A different topic is worrying the authorities in Uzbekistan. They are alarmed by press reports of arms sales in which Uzbekistan was mentioned. These details have prompted bewilderment within the republic's government and indignation among its military. Here is what General Rustam Ahmadov, Uzbekistan's defense minister, told our correspondent:

[Begin recording] [Ahmadov] We are a member of the United Nations and the CSCE. Therefore, we have certain international obligations regarding any activity in the sale of arms and hardware. Besides, there is a secret presidential order of 7 February, which I can reveal to you. It says that the import into the Republic and the export from it of military hardware and other weaponry absolutely is forbidden.

[Unidentified correspondent] In that case, where do you think the reports that Uzbekistan is now selling helicopters, tanks, and trucks to other states are coming from?

[Ahmadov] I must say that we do not have any T-55 tanks on the Republic's territory; we have more modern tanks. Also, there are no Mi-98 helicopters at all in the arsenal of the CIS Joint Armed Forces. Evidently, there are forces that want to create a tense atmosphere in our particular region. [end recording]

Supreme Soviet Takes Charge of Border Forces

LD2603132992 Tashkent Radio Tashkent Network in Uzbek 0300 GMT 25 Mar 92

[Decree signed by Uzbekistan President Islam Karimov; date and place not given; monitored in progress]

[Text] ...the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Uzbekistan, in accordance with a decree of 14 January 1992 on the military units and military colleges based in the Republic of Uzbekistan and also in accordance with the documents on border forces signed at the meeting of the CIS heads of state in Kiev on 20 March 1992, with the aim of defending the state borders of the Republic of Uzbekistan:

1. Within the framework of the National Security Service of the Republic of Uzbekistan a directorate of border forces will be formed. The directorate of border forces is to be headed by the deputy head of the National Security Service;

2. The Central Asian border district and the units and subunits of the border forces in the Republic of Uzbekistan are to be placed under the jurisdiction of the directorate of border forces within the framework of the National Security Service of the Republic of Uzbekistan;

3. The National Security Service of the Republic of Uzbekistan is to (?receive) all the personnel, weapons, material, and technical property, along with other property of the units and subunits of the border forces; to formulate within one month the rules and [word indistinct] and their [words indistinct]. It must be outlined that the activity of the border forces of the Republic of Uzbekistan and the border forces of the CIS states and the immediate [word indistinct] will be [word indistinct] by the unified command of the border forces;

4. The Finance Ministry of the Republic of Uzbekistan, the committee for outlining the [word indistinct] development of the Republic of Uzbekistan, the Uzbekistan [word indistinct] association for contracts and state trade, and the National Security Service of the Republic of Uzbekistan to examine this question within 10 days and then submit proposals to the government on the financial, material, and technical provisions for the border forces of the Republic of Uzbekistan;

5. The National Security Service of the Republic of Uzbekistan and the Ministry for Justice of the Republic of Uzbekistan, together with interested organizations, are to formulate within one month a draft law on the state borders of the Republic of Uzbekistan and as outlined to submit it for examination by the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Uzbekistan;

6. The command units of border forces placed under the jurisdiction of the Republic of Uzbekistan, taking into consideration the social and legal protection of all the servicemen of the Republic of Uzbekistan as well as the members of their families, should guarantee the implementation of the duties taken on by the [words indistinct].

[Signed] Republic of Uzbekistan President Karimov

Decree Raises 'Questions'

OW2603210792 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1853 GMT 26 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The decision of Uzbekistan to take border units in its territory under its own jurisdiction actually splits the Central Asian border district into two and raises a number of questions. The statement was made in an interview with IF [INTERFAX] by the commander of the district Aleksandr Bogdanov. On Friday [27 March] he is leaving with a group of officers for talks to Tashkent where he will probably meet President Islam Karimov.

The commander wants to know whether the decree is the basis for forming new border units or Uzbek units will be part of the CIS force.

If Uzbekistan will form its own force, he said, the current force should give over its sections to Uzbek units. This would be most complicated, because this will cause numerous conflicts, specifically in the social sphere.

Still Karimov's decree might satisfy border guards, Aleksandr Bogdanov said, because it provides for financing the force and offers social guarantees to servicemen.

The decree will come into force after several conditions named in it are observed. Some of them should be carried out in 10 days, others in a month.

Armenia

Georgia To Help Relieve Azerbaijani Blockade

NC2603174192 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1500 GMT 26 Mar 92

[Text] The Armenian president's press service informs that some days ago Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan appealed to Georgian State Council Chairman Eduard Shevardnadze to aid the transportation of consignments Armenia has obtained abroad through Georgian territory in view of Azerbaijan's continuing blockade of roads.

Shevardnadze's reply cable was received today. It says the Georgian Republic's leader agrees to transport through Georgia grain destined for Batumi Port [words indistinct]. It also informs that at present effective work (?is going) on at the railway stations of Batumi and Poti Ports and that upon the arrival of the grain-carrying vessels, the unloading and secure transportation of the grain will be placed under supervision.

Azerbaijani Cease-Fire Violations Reported

NC2603183092 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1630 GMT 26 Mar 92

[Text] It appears that the Azerbaijani leadership dislikes and puts no political or legal value on the agreement for a temporary cease-fire reached during the tripartite talks in Tehran. If it did, that republic's Army units would have ceased shelling the Armenian settlements in Nagorno-Karabakh for at least one day; they would not have used various arms to shell Armenia's border settlements. Daily reports from Nagorno-Karabakh and Armenia's law enforcement organs prove beyond doubt that the cease-fire is not to Azerbaijan's liking.

The Nagorno-Karabakh Republic Supreme Soviet press center reports that seven artillery shells were fired on Stepanakert from Shusha on 25 March. Fortunately, this time the damage was minor. No information has been provided about the number of casualties.

Stepanakert again came under artillery fire from Shusha at 1130 on 26 March. Eight shells were fired on the city. The Azerbaijani bandits were still shelling Stepanakert with artillery at 1200, when this information was conveyed to us.

The Azerbaijani armed formation increased the shelling of Martuni during the so-called cease-fire period. Martuni was continuously shelled 2100-2300 on 25 March from the Azerbaijani base in Amiranlar in Martuninskiy Rayon. The fire came from artillery pieces and tanks. Details about the shelling are being ascertained.

Tokh and [name indistinct] villages in Gadrutskiy Rayon were shelled between 1800-1900 on 25 March from the direction of Azerbaijan's Fizulinskiy Rayon. Nineteen T-12 shells were fired on these villages. There is destruction. A few residents were injured, one from Tokh village received serious injuries.

Karachinar village in Shaumyanovskiy Rayon came under artillery fire the morning of 25 March.

The Armenian Republic Internal Affairs Ministry informed that Aygepar, Artsavaberd, Chinar, and Choratan villages in Tavushskiy Rayon came under intensive artillery fire on 25 March from the direction of Azerbaijan's Kazakhskiy Rayon. One resident died and two were injured in Chinar.

The Megrinskiy Rayon Militia Department's guard post was fired on from a train passing through the region. Fortunately, there were no casualties.

President, French Envoy Discuss Ties, Conflict

Meets With French Official

NC2603213792 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1730 GMT 26 Mar 92

[Text] President Levon Ter-Petrosyan on 26 March received French Ambassador to Armenia Bertrand Dufourcq, who presented his credentials to the president as France's first diplomatic representative in Armenia.

After exchanging greetings and [words indistinct] during the official ceremony, a brief conversation took place. Levon Ter-Petrosyan highly assessed the establishment of full diplomatic relations with France, which on many occasions has proven its friendliness towards Armenia.

At the request of the ambassador, Levon Ter-Petrosyan enumerated the Armenian position on the peaceful resolution of the Nagorno-Karabakh problem. He specifically emphasized the importance of the direct participation of Nagorno-Karabakh in the negotiations [words indistinct]. He stressed that the popular self-defense is at present the sole guarantee for Nagorno-Karabakh's existence and that unless a new security system is introduced in its place, it will be difficult to expect the rapid restoration of peace in the region.

Armenian Deputy Foreign Minister Arman Kirakosyan, presidential adviser Vahan Papazyan, people's deputy [name indistinct] and other officials were present at the meeting.

Receives Australian Envoy

NC2603131792 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 25 Mar 92

[Statement issued by the Armenian Government press center]

[Text] On 24 March, Gagik Arutyunyan, vice president and prime minister of Armenia, received Australia's Ambassador to Russia C. Hogue, who was also appointed ambassador to Armenia.

Mr. Hogue said: "We know much about Armenia from the press, literature, and the Armenian community in Australia. With the establishment of diplomatic relations, wide possibilities are emerging for permanent contacts, without which it is impossible to cooperate."

At the guest's request, the vice president described the specific characteristics of Armenia's political orientation and economic situation and presented Armenia's position on peacefully solving the Karabakh problem. In emphasizing the importance of the internationalization of the problem and highly praising foreign countries peace-making role, Gagik Arutyunyan said that thanks to these efforts the correct formula of tripartite talks between Armenia, Nagorno-Karabakh, and Azerbaijan has been found.

In agreeing with the vice president's view that internationalizing the problem might extricate the sides from the impasse, the ambassador said that his government believes that first a stable situation should be created and then the talks should start under the supervision of international observers.

Next, the sides touched upon matters relating to establishing trade and economic ties. It was noted that there are common grounds for cooperation and what is needed is to work together to find concrete ways to implement this cooperation.

The ambassador expressed the opinion that business circles of the Armenian community in Australia could lay the groundwork for ties and future cooperation to develop on a mutually advantageous basis.

Expressing satisfaction at establishing diplomatic relations and on the results of their meeting, the Armenian prime minister and Australia's ambassador agreed that "the first step on a long road has now been taken."

Nagorno-Karabakh Parliament Prints Periodical

NC2503220592 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 25 Mar 92

[Text] Yerevan, 25 Mar (ARMENPRES)—The first issue of LRATU [Reporter] periodical of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR] Supreme Soviet appeared on 23 March. There are plans to publish it weekly. The first issue of LRATU carried information on the activities of the NKR Supreme Soviet Presidium, political commentaries and other items. At present LRATU is the only paper being published in Nagorno-Karabakh.

Parliament Approves 'Dram' as New Currency

LD2603200992 Moscow TASS in English 2201 GMT 25 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan March 25 TASS—Late on Wednesday [25 March] the Armenian parliament approved the official name for the republic's currency. The basic currency unit will be called dram. One dram will be 100 lumas.

The name was chosen from several proposals submitted to a special commission, composed of representatives of the Finance Ministry, the state bank, research and other Armenian institutions, Tigran Sarkisyan, chairman of the Parliament's Financial and Budgetary Commission, said.

On Thursday, the Armenian Government will begin negotiations with several foreign firms to place an order to print new money for Armenia.

Technically this will take 7-8 months, Sarkisyan said. The new money will be designed by Armenia's State Bank.

Gold Find Seen as Success for Conversion

PM2403085992 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Mar 92 p 4

[Colonel N. Mulyar report: "Conversion and Gold"]

[Text] Several goldfields have recently been discovered in Ukraine, but a goldfield in Odessa Oblast, that is difficult to believe.

Geological surveys carried out in Savranskiy Rayon have shown a large concentration of the precious metal. It is considered economically advantageous to extract gold if one tonne of ore contains four-six grams of gold. The rock in the Savranskiy field contains 10 times that.

The Odessa magazine DYUK cites V. Kostogryz, chief engineer of the Kirovskiy geological production association expedition, as saying that this discovery is the result of conversion. "Previously," he said, "we carried out specific exploration for certain minerals to meet defense needs."

Azerbaijan

Cease-Fire Extended in Nagorno-Karabakh

NC2703065792 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran First Program Network in Persian 0330 GMT 27 Mar 92

[Text] Following efforts by the Islamic Republic of Iran, Azerbaijani and Armenian officials announced an agreement to extend the cease-fire in the Nagorno-Karabakh region. Baku television reported yesterday that the cease-fire will continue until the leaders of Azerbaijan and Armenia hold comprehensive peace talks.

The week-long cease-fire that has been holding since noon on 20 March was to expire at noon today. Except for some sporadic exchanges of fire with light weapons, the two sides have adhered to the cease-fire regulations.

The talks between the head of the Iranian committee supervising the cease-fire in Khankendy and Nagorno-Karabakh officials culminated in the agreement with forces stationed in this region to continue to abide by the cease-fire regulations and to maintain calm in the region.

According to IRNA, the Iranian mediation delegation led by Mahmud Va'ezi left for Yerevan after two days of talks with Azerbaijani officials and held separate meetings with the Armenian prime minister and the presidential adviser for national security. During these talks, Armenian officials announced their concurrence with the plan Iran proposed to convene an experts' session and formulate a draft of the final statement to be issued on the two leaders' meeting.

Nagorno-Karabakh Tripartite Negotiations Set

LD2603181492 Moscow TASS in English 1701 GMT 26 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Dodonov]

[Text] Helsinki March 26 TASS—An agreement has been reached on tripartite talks between representatives of Armenia, Azerbaijan and Nagorno-Karabakh, Armenian Deputy Foreign Minister Raffi Hovannisian told a news conference here on Wednesday [25 March] evening. He said information had been received via Turkey that top Azeri leaders favour the holding of such negotiations.

The purpose of the negotiations will not be the preparation of an international conference on Nagorno-Karabakh to be held in Minsk. Its purpose will be to direct exchange of opinion on such important matters as the ceasefire in the region and the lifting of the blockade and the restoration of weapons seized by Azerbaijan from arsenals of armed forces of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), Hovannisian said.

The holding of these negotiations is not a condition for convening an international conference on Nagorno-Karabakh. However, Armenia believes that the recognition of the right of Nagorno-Karabakh to send its own delegation to Minsk should be a condition for the conference.

Talks Agreement Denied

LD2703103992 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0942 GMT 27 Mar 92

[Text] Baku, 27 March (AZERINFORM-TASS)—Participation as an independent side by representatives of Nagorno-Karabakh's Armenian community in talks to settle the conflict in the region would be unlawful, says a statement from the Azerbaijani Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which was distributed here today. It would mean the violation of the state integrity and sovereignty of the Azerbaijani Republic, stresses the statement.

The Azerbaijani Ministry of Foreign Affairs rejected, as without foundation, the assertion by Armenian Minister of Foreign Affairs Raffi Hovannisian that an agreement had allegedly been reached to hold tripartite talks in Minsk between representatives of Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Nagorno-Karabakh.

Azerbaijan has always been and still is in favor of a peaceful solution to the problem. It is ready to resolve all disputes that exist between the two independent states by means of talks which could be held on a bilateral basis, notes the statement.

'Experts' Invited To Verify CIS Involovement

LD2703113892 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1100 GMT 27 Mar 92

[Text] Moscow, 27 Mar (ITAR-TASS)—The Azerbaijani Supreme Soviet press center has again made claims about the involvement of CIS armed forces subunits in recent operations against Azerbaijanis in the Nagorno-Karabakh zone. AZERINFORM reports this from Baku.

Yesterday, the Russian Federation president's press service issued a statement in which it described as "clear disinformation and lies" pronouncements by Yakub Mamedov, chairman of the Azerbaijani Supreme Soviet, about Russia's position vis-a-vis the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh. Among other things, Mamedov, in an interview with IZVESTIYA published on 25 March, claimed that Armenia and Russia are waging a "unilateral war against the peaceful Azerbaijanis."

Reacting to the Moscow statement today, the Azerbaijani parliament's press center cast doubts on the degree to which President Boris Yeltsin has been briefed "on the development of recent events in the combat zone and the active participation in them of the 366th regiment of sad renown."

In this connection, Baku expressed "its readiness to accept a group of independent experts and offer them the necessary working conditions in order to establish the truth."

In connection with the increasing polemic between the press services of the Russian president and the Azerbaijani parliament, observers are recalling that the original reason for this was the episode with the CIS armed forces 366th motor-rifle regiment, which was stationed in Stepanakert (the administrative center of Nagorno-Karabakh) and subsequently withdrawn at the beginning of March from the conflict zone. Reports appeared in the press that some of these servicemen took part in combat operations against the Azerbaijanis and others against the Armenians. The CIS Armed Forces command has rejected these reports, while at the same time acknowledging cases of desertion from the regiment.

Possible CSCE Role in Nagorno-Karabakh Viewed

PM2703112992 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 5

[Maksim Yusin report: "CSCE Intends To Send Armed Peacekeeping Forces to Karabakh"]

[Text] The idea of enlisting the CSCE in settling the Armenian-Azerbaijan conflict is gaining more and more supporters as the CIS' inability to stop the bloodshed becomes clear.

Karabakh was one of the main topics at the CSCE foreign ministers' conference that ended in Helsinki on Wednesday [25 March]. As already announced, it was decided to hold a peace conference in Minsk in which Armenia, Azerbaijan, Russia, Belarus, the United States, France, Germany, Italy, Turkey, Sweden, and Czechoslovakia will take part.

Meeting with journalists, Russian delegation head Andrey Kozyrev advocated creating CSCE armed peacekeeping forces. He said that most of the ministers with whom he had contacts in Helsinki backed this idea. Kozyrev did not rule out use of NATO military infrastructures—primarily airfields—when carrying out peace missions.

The Russian Foreign Ministry explained that it is not a question of sending NATO armed forces to the conflict zone, which some of our mass media announced two weeks ago when this idea was first aired in Brussels. These operations can only be carried out within the CSCE framework.

A proposal was heard in Helsinki for another meeting to be held—this time a tripartite meeting—involving representatives from Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Karabakh. This was announced after a meeting between the Turkish and Armenian foreign ministers. However, despite Armenian Minister Raffi Hovannisian assurances that talks would be held "shortly," there are serious doubts about this. Baku has already made a preliminary, virtually impossible condition: The Karabakh representative at this meeting must not be someone who supports independence for the oblast and its secession from Azerbaijan.

According to Hovannisian, the talks will start as soon as there is a cease-fire and once Azerbaijan lifts the blockade on Armenia. Which also seems unlikely. Alarming reports have come in from Baku and Yerevan within the last few hours. The truce concluded with the mediation of Iranian Deputy Foreign Minister Va'ezi is not being observed and the bombardment of cities and villages is continuing.

At an extraordinary session of the Azerbaijan parliament the republic's new leaders called for the militarization of the whole oblast and for war until a victorious conclusion. In an endeavor to avoid the fate of Ayaz Mutalibov, who was removed by nationalists for his "overly soft" line toward Armenia, Yakub Mamedov, chairman of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet, is banking on a strong-arm solution. "All enterprises must be switched to a war footing... Only then will we be able to deal the aggressors a rebuff," he said from the parliamentary rostrum.

People in Baku are filled with a desire to take revenge for the defeats of the last few months. Will the CSCE's efforts at mediation avert a fresh spiral in the war, which at present seems almost inevitable?

Nagorno-Karabakh Favors Peacekeeping Force

OW2603191192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1638 GMT 26 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In an interview with IF [INTERFAX] the Interior Minister of Nagorno-Karabakh Armen Isagulov has spoken for the deployment of a peace-keeping force of the United Nations or the CIS on the border of Karabakh and Azerbaijan. This is the only way to stop the war, he said.

He said that armed groups of Azeris subordinate to no one operate in areas of Azerbaijan bordering on Karabakh.

The minister said that the Azeris have three MI-24 combat helicopters with the markings of the CIS Armed Forces. However, he refused to say whether Armenian armed units have been ordered to shoot the helicopters down.

The situation in Stepanakert is disastrous, the minister said. 70% of buildings are damaged or ruined. People live in cellars without electricity and water. Flour has practically run out. The minister did not rule out the possibility of an epidemic breaking out with the beginning of warm weather because of unsatisfactory sanitary conditions.

Mamedov Warns Citizens Against Provocations

OW2603191492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1638 GMT 26 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The leader of Azerbaijan Yakub Mamedov has urged the people in the republic not to be provoked because this could destabilize the situation.

In an appeal to all peoples and ethnic groups living in Azerbaijan he said that persons disliking "the unity and friendship of peoples living in the ancient land of Azerbaijan" have stepped up their activities.

He was especially alarmed by provocations against families of officers and the Russian-speaking population and promised to strictly punish the culprits.

President on Nagorno-Karabakh, Russian Role

PM2603165192 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 2

[IZVESTIYA reprint of interview with Yakub Mamedov, chairman of Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet, by IMA-PRESS correspondent Sergey Mitin and Italian RAI correspondent Michele Mazza; place and date not given:

"Russia Trying With Armenia's Help To Put Pressure on Azerbaijan, Yakub Mamedov, Chairman of Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet, Said in an Interview With Moscow's IMA-PRESS and Italy's RAI"]

[Text] [Question] What are the immediate prospects for the development of the Karabakh crisis? How does Azerbaijan intend to carry out Army mobilization—after all, by doing that you are exacerbating the conflict and turning it into a large-scale war.

[Mamedov] Azerbaijan is not carrying out and has not carried out a general mobilization. We have not created our own army. To date, we do not have a national armed forces; Only a law on setting them up has been adopted. We are now putting emphasis on political decisions. We welcome all peace missions; we have succeeded for some time in securing a cease-fire. The agreement is being implemented for the time being. There are violations on both sides sometimes. But in theory, active hostilities have now been suspended. We have started political dialogue with the Armenian leadership, the Nagorno-Karabakh leadership, and other political leaders to decide a time, place, and date for talks.

In Karabakh and the border regions we are mustering self-defense detachments from among the local residents. We have no intention of attacking Armenia or other neighboring states. Therefore if we do form an army, it will only be to defend our own border and territory. There is no need for general mobilization. Some 100,000 Azerbaijanis are now serving in the CIS Army. We could recall them; they constitute ready-made armed forces. But we do not want to fight; the Karabakh question cannot be resolved by military means.

Armenia has been creating its own national army for a long time. It has well-trained forces, equipped with modern hardware. Two years ago, the relevant decisions were adopted there and they are now being put into effect. Gorbachev issued a decree on disarming this army, but it has not been carried out. Our law on creating armed forces only appeared in November 1991. If there is no aggression, if peace sets in, I see no point in tremendous financial and economic expenditures to form an army, especially since we are undergoing an economic crisis.

However, if we do not manage to resolve the Karabakh conflict by political means, we will have no choice—we have to defend our citizens, our territory, and our state. Then we will be forced to take a different path. However hard that is for the people, there is no other way out.

[Question] In your opinion, what diplomatic initiatives may there be to settle the conflict?

[Mamedov] First: We propose a cease-fire throughout the front for a long period. Then an exchange of hostages. Then conditions must be created for Azerbaijani refugees to return home. And then the roads must be opened; talks started at the level of individual areas, villages, and people; and the two peoples gradually reconciled. That is the only way I see.

We must help those Azerbaijanis who left their homes and who are now forced to live in sanatoriums and rest homes in Baku to return to Karabakh. This problem must be made the subject of talks. For our part, we will guarantee the safety of the Armenians living there.

We are also gradually raising the question of disarming or withdrawing from Nagorno-Karabakh both sides' armed formations so that there are no military subunits there at all.

Observers from various states or international organizations can be invited to observe the accords. If the residents of Nagorno-Karabakh respect the Azerbaijan Constitution and obey its laws, we as Azerbaijan citizens will respect them and create normal conditions for them to develop their culture, history, and customs.

The Karabakh Armenians do not need this war. It has been imposed from outside—by nationalist Armenians living in Armenia and abroad. The "Dashnaktsutyun" party is the main inspiration behind the conflict. This is a nationalist organization that operated abroad following the establishment of Soviet power, creating cells here, and it was recently legalized in Yerevan.

Historically, roughly 1 million Azerbaijanis have lived on Armenian territory. Now all of them have been evicted. However, in Baku alone there are now 20,000 Armenians.

[Question] When you talk about international observers, whom do you mean?

[Mamedov] Representatives of the United Nations, European countries, Ukraine, and Kazakhstan. People who are objective.

[Question] For how long are you willing not to resume your fire while you wait for a response to your diplomatic steps?

[Mamedov] We have agreed on a timeframe of 10 days. Then we must move on to talks at the foreign minister level. They are now agreeing on a place for the meeting. We are willing to extend this timeframe further. We have no intention whatsoever of starting hostilities again if the appropriate accords are secured.

[Question] As we know, you have charged Russia with being interested in this conflict and said that it is in its interests to weaken Azerbaijan and back Armenia.

[Mamedov] We never accused Russia before. We hoped that it would take an objective neutral position. But time has shown that Moscow has a one-sided approach. The Russian Federation's official leaders are overtly backing Armenian separatists and providing them with military aid. Events in Khodzhaly developed with the active participation of the 366th regiment. There are now

50,000 Azerbaijan refugees from Nagorno-Karabakh who were expelled with the CIS Army's help. This is because there were a large number of Armenians among Gorbachev's and subsequently Yeltsin's closest advisers. Starovoytova was a USSR Supreme Soviet deputy from Armenia. Others are Shakhnazarov, Ambartsumyan, and Aganbegyan—there are very many of them. They are now Yeltsin's consultants and advisers. The upshot is that Russian leaders are receiving one-sided information about Azerbaijani pillaging and destruction. Russia helped Armenia create its own army and it is now impeding us even though we gave the Soviet Army more than any other republic. The Commonwealth Armed Forces are not helping us today and have not given us a single cartridge. Yet modern hardware has been handed over to Armenia and the 7th Army is taking part in border clashes on Armenia's side. Russian enlisted men and officers have provided evidence of that.

At this moment, Armenia has joined the CIS Joint Armed Forces common command. Azerbaijan has not. We do not want to take part in military matters. Unlike the Armenian parliament, our parliament has not ratified the treaty on joining the Commonwealth. And Russia is trying to penalize us for this. We chose the path of independence, democracy, and sovereignty and do not want to join any bloc like the former Union. Russia wants to use this situation in Karabakh to make us join it...

Why are hostilities being stepped up today, why are Armenians behaving so impudently? Because Russia is behind them. We are not, in effect, fighting Armenia now. This is a one-sided war by Armenia and Russia against the peaceful Azerbaijanis.

[Question] What is your opinion of the results of the meeting in Kiev? Do you agree to the deployment of CIS peacekeeping forces in the conflict area? If so, which republics' representatives would you prefer to see there?

[Mamedov] Azerbaijan did not sign the Kiev agreements. We do not agree that CIS troops be brought into Nagorno-Karabakh. We have seen for four years now the position that they hold and we do not want them to be deployed on the Azerbaijani-Armenian border. It is clear which side these units will take.

[Question] What if there are UN troops on the border?

[Mamedov] It depends which countries they are from. If they are from states with a strong Armenian influence, we will not accept them.

[Question] Can you accuse some specific European state of helping to arm the Armenian Army?

[Mamedov] I have the facts, but I do not want to talk about this. Arab countries—Syria, Lebanon—and there are also mercenaries. As for Europe... We are striving to organize friendly relations and normal ties with it, and not take revenge.

[Question] What is your personal opinion of Boris Yeltsin's position in Kiev?

[Mamedov] It was a one-sided position; I take a negative view of Yeltsin's actions. The people of Azerbaijan do not deserve that attitude. The Russian president speaks in ultimatums to the Azerbaijani people. That will do no good. I telephoned Yeltsin to warn him that I could not come to Kiev. I could not reach him for a very long time. I tried to find him for a whole week. We had a very polite and very friendly conversation. I told him the situation and asked him to receive our representatives and help them tell the conference participants the truth about the tragedy in Khodzhaly. But regrettably, he did not receive them.

[Question] After Shushi commandant Rakhim Gaziyev was appointed defense minister, many people in Azerbaijan began to talk about military revenge. In your view, is it possibile to have a purely military solution to the conflict?

[Mamedov] If we were counting on that, we would not have appointed a civilian as defense minster (Gaziyev is after all a teacher at a higher education institution). Sooner or later we will have to sit down at the negotiating table.

[Question] Are you not afraid of ending up in a situation like your predecessor Ayaz Mutalibov, where many Azerbaijanis expect military victories?

[Mamedov] There is that danger. If it does not prove possible to resolve the conflict and create normal lives for people, I will have a hard time. The population is demanding protection from aggression. I will try to carry out the people's demands. If I succeed, I will be a happy man. If I do not, I too will have to resign.

[Question] Do you think that you can reach agreement with the opposition and create a government of national unity?

[Mamedov] We have no disagreements on the Karabakh question. My predecessor did not act promptly enough on the whole. I will not repeat his mistakes.

Defense Ministry Reports Armenian Attacks

NC2603195492 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1800 GMT 26 Mar 92

[Text] The Azerbaijan Ministry of Defense press center has disclosed the following:

Fizuli city was subjected to a rocket attack from the direction of the former Gadrutskiy Rayon at 1000 on 25 March. The armed Armenians exchanged the seven hostages they took from the border units for eight automatic weapons, one handgun, four VAZ vehicles, and two tonnes of fuel on the same day. The leaders of [name indistinct] town have been forced to evacuate residents to safer areas.

The armed Armenians unsuccessfully attempted to block the Shusha-Lachin road on 25 March.

Meanwhile, armed men have been observed assembling on the border areas in Armenia's Kafanskiy Rayon. Another 200 armed Armenians arrived in Kafanskiy Rayon on 25 March.

Instructions have been given to transfer the Nos. 55 and 58 (?airborne units) in Shimshir Rayon to Volgograd city this week.

Exchanges of fire in the border towns of Kazakhskiy Rayon were [words indistinct]. Armenian units have been observed assembling along the Todan and Chaykend fronts in Gorenboyskiy Rayon. Meanwhile, Bashkarakoyunly town has been fired on from the direction of [name indistinct] town. Shefek town was fired on from the direction of Norachinar town. Armed Armenians and armored vehicles have been deployed around Karachinar town.

The situation in Dzhebrailskiy Rayon has been relatively calm. Fire was opened on several towns in the rayon from the direction of the former Gadrutskiy Rayon, but rayon residents did not feel the need to return fire.

[Name indistinct] town in Kubatlinskiy Rayon was fired on from Armenia's Gorisskiy Rayon with machine guns and automatic weapons.

Kazandzhi, Asker, Yigitler, and [name indistinct] towns in Zangelanskiy Rayon were fired on with BMP launchers, machine guns, and automatic arms from Armenia last night. Armored vehicles and [words indistinct] have been observed to assemble in the direction of Kafan and Megri in Armenia.

The Armenians launched an attack with missile launchers and automatic arms on Agdam town in Tauzskiy Rayon on 24 March. The attack occurred during the funeral ceremony held for Mamedov Khalghani Ismailov, who died heroically in Chulkhamedi town in Tauzskiy Rayon, and Nasib Malik Nasirov, a resident of Agdam town. The fire was returned and the enemy was silenced.

Committee Formed To Reclaim Azeri Lands

LD2503054192 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0830 GMT 23 Mar 92

[Text] A conference of the action committee for setting up the Gokcha-Zangezur Democratic Republic has taken place. Its creation has been brought about by the principle of the right to self-determination of hundreds of thousands of Azeris who were forcibly deported from Armenia from the lands that historically belonged to them.

Setting up state structures will assist the restoration of the civil rights of these people and their return to the places where they were born, said Azer Tagiyev, a 43-year old lawyer, who was elected the chairman of the organizing committee of the Gokcha-Zangezur Democratic Republic at the conference.

Cultural Agreement Signed With Iran

NC2503220192 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1800 GMT 24 Mar 92

[Excerpt] An Azerbaijani cultural delegation headed by Minister of Culture Polad Byul-Byul has visited Iran. An agreement was signed in Tehran providing for cultural exchanges between the two countries. Several measures were included in the agreement aimed at improving cultural relations between Azerbaijan and Iran. One of them calls for the establishment of an Iranian cultural center in Baku and a branch of this center in Gendzha City. Iran has attached significant importance to the broadening of its relations with Azerbaijan.

Meanwhile, an agreement was also concluded for the exchange of journalists between the two countries. This will create an opportunity to publicize the cultural relations between Azerbaijan and Iran. [passage omitted]

Georgia

Talks Held With Gamsakhurdists in Zugdidi

OW2603132592 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2030 GMT 26 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On March 25, representatives of the Georgian State Council and the leaders of the local supporters of Zviad Gamsakhurdia, held talks in the Western Georgian city of Zugdidi.

The negotiating parties discussed the coordination of the efforts to implement the agreement on ending confrontation, concluded on March 17. No details are available yet.

Meanwhile, on March 25 in the village of Tsalendzhikha near Zugdidi, a crowd of armed supporters of Gamsakhurdia attacked the local militia station. Seven militiamen were taken hostage.

Rumors of Casualties During Congress Denied

AU2703103392 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0300 GMT 27 Mar 92

[Text] Rumors have been spread that there were dead and wounded during the incident that occured on 25 March near the Chess Palace where the 11th congress of Georgian writers was taking place.

These have been firmly denied by Zadri Khoshitashvili, deputy department chief at the Georgian Ministry of Health Protection and Social Security. He informed our correspondent that no wounded or dead had been taken to any of Tbilisi's hospitals and other medical establishments.

Situation in Senaki 'Slowly Improving'

AU2703105892 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0300 GMT 27 Mar 92

[Text] Life in Senaki rayon is gradually returning to normal. People have become tired of the senseless rallies and insipid slogans and now everyone is keen to resume work. Our correspondent phoned Guram Mishabishvili, deputy board [gamgeoba] chairman of Senaki rayon. He said: Indeed, the situation is slowly improving. Studies have resumed in the town and rayon schools. Commercial and domestic services and medical establishments are functioning. The bakery is working [word indistinct]. One can say that the population of Senaki is being supplied with bread. Factory workers are also not refusing to work but, due to the shortage of power and fuel resources, it is not possible for everyone to work. In short, the situation is stabilizing. This is shown by the recently held information rallies at which concrete ways of emerging from the economic and political crisis in the rayon were outlined.

Signs of Stability Seen in South Ossetia

LD2703105592 Moscow TASS in English 1035 GMT 27 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz March 27 ITAR-TASS—The situation in South Ossetia remains tense but there are real signs of stabilisation, local television was told on Friday [27 March] by North Ossetian parliament speaker Akhsarbek Galazov.

Galazov attributed the latest developments to positive processes in Georgia following the return of Eduard Shevardnadze and his election as chairman of the Georgian State Council, as well as concrete steps made by the leadership of North and South Ossetia, the provisional Government of Georgia in order to promote Ossetian-Georgian settlement.

Poll Shows Shevardnadze Most Popular Leader

OW2603164092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1330 GMT 26 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Georgian State Council Chairman Eduard Shevardnadze is the most popular political leader in the republic, according to a Tbilisi poll. The poll was conducted by the Georgian Council of Ministers's public opinions studies center on March 20.

Shevardnadze's rating is far higher than that of former chairman of the Georgian Supreme Soviet Akaki Asatiani and current premier Tengiz Sigua.

The ousted President Zviad Gamsakhurdia is on the 11th place, following, among others, the republican Popular Front leader Nodar Natadze, former Georgian presidential candidate Valerian Advadze and leader of the National Democratic Party Georgy Chanturia.

But the rating of State Council members Tengiz Kitovani and Dzhaba Ioseliani is lower than Gamsakhurdia's.

At the bottom of the popularity chart is chairman of the Abkhaz Supreme Soviet Vladislav Ardzinba.

612 Arrested During Abkhazia 'Special Regime'

AU2603153892 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1400 GMT 26 Mar 92

[Text] As is known, a special regime for civilian conduct has been in force in Abkhazia since 2 March.

Since its introduction 23 days ago, 612 persons have been arrested who have paid fines amounting to 243,000 rubles.

In comparison with February, there has been an approximately 40 percent reduction in crimes and a 68 percent reduction in serious crimes.

Funds Allocated To Rebuild Center of Tbilisi

LD2503193192 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1400 GMT 25 Mar 92

[Text] The center of Tbilisi will soon be restored. We were told that the Georgian leadership has allocated 75 million rubles to do this. This was reported by the FAKT agency. During the well-known events in the republic's capital, most damage was inflicted on Rustaveli Avenue, Svoboda Square, and the adjacent streets.

EC Recognition of Republic Viewed

PM2503164592 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 5

[Report by Konstantin Eggert: "EC Has Recognized Georgia but Washington Is Still Thinking About It"]

[Text] On 23 March the EC gave the "go-ahead" to Georgia's recognition by the states which belong to the EC. Lisbon, Paris, London, Madrid, and Bonn have already notified Eduard Shevardnadze, chairman of the State Council of the Republic of Georgia, that they see Georgia as a sovereign state and have expressed the readiness to establish diplomatic relations with it.

The EC made its decision after E. Shevardnadze had assured the community in a special message of the republic's adherence to human rights, legality, and democracy. The Georgian leader, AP and REUTER report, assured the EC that Tbilisi will adhere to a policy of disarmament and nonproliferation of nuclear weapons and observe the principle of the indestructibility of borders. The press agency reports note that on behalf of the State Council Shevardnadze has promised to guarantee the rights of national minorities in Georgia.

The steps taken by the EC demonstrate how high is the former USSR foreign minister's prestige in the West. After all, the European capitals cannot fail to be aware that the domestic political situation in Georgia is far from stable. The only guarantor of the present relative lull remains Shevardnadze himself. In that sense the EC actions should be viewed as a kind of advance for the future.

The United States has been far more cautious in approaching the recognition of Georgia. State Department spokeswoman M. Tutweiler stated that James Baker is still "studying the questions with experts." It is true that Washington has announced the dispatch of urgent aid—food and medical supplies—to Georgia. But this fact cannot conceal the White House's definite reluctance to take the risk which the EC has determined to take. The friendly relations between the former chief of Soviet diplomacy and the U.S. secretary of state have so far not become a factor influencing the U.S. Administration's decision.

Military Leaders View Republic's Future Army

AU2603152592 Tbilisi NOVAYA GAZETA in Russian No. 3 Mar 92 p 6

[Article by Mikhail Eligulashvili: "Call-Up Into Who Knows What...."

[Text] **"We're Planning To Hold the First Call-Up Into a National Georgian Army in the Autumn," Stated Levan Sharashenidze, Republic of Georgia Defense Minister, in an Interview With NOVAYA GAZETA**

It is now spring, and the paradox is that no Georgian army exists up to this day. Furthermore, there does not even exist a clearly formulated concept of its creation, and for this reason, it is not yet known who will be drafted and into what. Today, the creation of a national army is, for the moment, a question more of political prestige. However, "tomorrow" will very soon be upon us. The troops of the Transcaucasian Military District, be they troops of occupation or "based on the territory of a friendly state according to agreement" will sooner or later be withdrawn from Georgia, and then it will not be a matter of prestige. An army will be necessary to defend the state, its borders, and interests.

Tengiz Kitovani considers that Georgia already has its own army, evidently having in mind the National Guard. However, first, since its creation, the Guard has suffered so many changes "on paper" that its present status and its functions have not been sufficiently determined, not because of the extreme circumstances that have taken shape but because of the letter of the law that does not exist. Second, the Guard is an elite force, something, incidentally, that Kitovani himself said during our conversation.

Other armed formations, of which we have many, also do not fit into the definition of an army in the original sense of the word. What occured in Georgia at the end of last year and at the beginning of this year has been called a putsch and junta seriously by the supporters of the former president and ironically by the present authorities. However, if we adopt a strict approach, this definition is simply not accurate precisely because a coup was not carried out by the army because there is no army.

The question of creating an army was raised several times at the Consultative Council but it has not been examined because it has not been possible to gather all the members or all those interested and involved in this question. However, it is difficult not to agree with Colonel General (in the Soviet Army still) Irakliy Dzhordzhadze who believes that we should start forming an army quickly because this is a long and complex process. As for other statements by General Dzhordzhadze and his views on the organization of a Georgian national army that I was interested in hearing, one can agree or disagree with them, but I think that it is still worth quoting them if only because this person has spent his whole life in the Soviet Army, and his opinion is of interest.

"What we have today," said Colonel General Dzhordzadze, "cannot be called an army. Of course, the 'Mkhedrioni,' the Guard, and the volunteer corps that joined them have done a great deed for Georgia and for all of us. However, this is still not an army but some kind of mishmash, disorganized in essence and heterogeneous in composition. There is everything here from subunits that have not been badly trained to ordinary bandit groups. We need to take severe measures at once against such groups, otherwise there can be no talk of even organizing an army. All the rest need to be brought into a single structure according to the so-called "militia" principle (it is in this way that the armies in, for example, Sweden, Switzerland, and many other countries are formed) on a professional basis. The Defense Ministry, General Staff, and, in general, the whole vertical normal army pyramid should be strong. The main function of the army should be to protect the country's frontiers; these are very complex in Georgia. The army should not interfere in internal affairs as the militia will do this."

It is interesting to compare this point of view with the views on a future Georgian army of those who are directly involved in its creation. Here is what Dzhaba Ioseliani, member of the [former] Military Council and leader of the "Mkhedrioni" formation said on this subject:

"The army should be created on the basis of the Rescue Corps and, in the future, should become its constituent part. The Resue Corps itself will carry out its usual functions, that is to say render assistance during natural disasters, various catastrophes, and so forth. A certain section will be under arms and carry out permanent drills, studies, and military training. In case of danger to the state, all will be under arms notwithstanding. The principle should be that of a levy-en-masse force, if I can

put this way. We need to revive an old Georgian tradition: Work, get on with what you are doing, but keep a gun by your side to use when needed."

There is no unanimity on the question of the formation for the new army. This was not difficult to predict. It is understandable that the leaders of various formations would like to see their own formation as the basis for a future army. A year or two ago, when the "Mkhedrioni," the Legion of Georgian Falcons, "Imedi" ["Hope"], and other armed formations were being set up, each of them was proposed precisely as the prototype for an army. At the time, this proceeded in an uncoordinated manner and simultaneously, whereas now it is already difficult to find a common denominator. Opinions also differ on the size of a future army. Dzhaba Ioseliani believes that Georgia does not need a big army since an army only fulfills functions of defense. "We need to get this expansionist nonsense out of our heads," he said. Tengiz Kitovani, although he did not give any precise numbers, believes, according to certain information, that Georgia needs a minimum of three divisions to fully protect its interests.

It seems that, at the moment, there is complete unanimity on only one thing: The Defense Ministry will not assume command of the Army. "The structure will be completely different," said Kitovani evasively, "but, at the moment, we do not want to talk about this in detail." Finding itself in the role of a monarch, the Georgian Defense Ministry will evidently assume the functions of a quartermaster: providing the Army with resources and equipment, placing orders in the defense industry, and, perhaps, training cadres. Also, although this is not being said aloud, it appears that the ministry will be given the role of buffer and envoy in relations with the Russian Army, as borne out by the very fact that a regular Soviet officer has been appointed defense minister. In connection with this, Levan Sharashenidze himself said that while the Russian Army is located on Georgian territory, we must try to make maximum use of its presence here, its base, and even its apparatus of advisors and instructors. Therefore, although the participation of officers of the Armed Forces of the former USSR in the training of national armed formations is, at present, being denied by the command authorities, it is not excluded that, in the near future we will receive official consultants, advisers, and instructors whom the Soviet Union, in its time, scattered throughout all the countries of the socialist camp and Third World in enormous abundance.

Incidentally, for some reason, it seems to me that precisely the Defense Ministry, finding itself in the role of a poor relation, should in the near future work more actively than others because, although there is apparently no one at the moment with whom to wage war and a call-up is due in autumn, if it indeed takes place, the soldiers will need to have a national uniform and there is none yet; they will need to be accommodated on their national bases of which there are none yet, and provided with weapons of which there is a shortage. However, we will not specify who will receive what and how much....

"Fry the fish!" "Yes, but where is the fish?" "Start frying, and the fish will arrive soon." We really do need an army that is well-trained and capable of defense. Not at some time in the future but right now. The very least that needs to be done now is to clearly determine what sort of army it will be, who is to create it and how.

Crime Situation Said 'Fairly Disturbing'

AU2703110292 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0300 GMT 27 Mar 92

[Excerpt] The leaders of Tbilisi's law enforcement organs held a news yesterday for Tbilisi journalists in the assembly hall of the newspaper SAKARTVELOS RESPUBLIKA.

The meeting was opened by Akaki Sikharulidze, chairman of the Union of Georgian Journalists. Gia Gulua, chief of the city's militia department; Mikhael Kurtadze, the city's procurator; and David Kalmakhelidze, chairman of the city court; painted a fairly disturbing picture of the crime situation. Unfortunately we have gotten used to everything, including the rise in unsolved crimes. The population has a lot of firearms at home. The militia that was brought to a state of ruin by the previous authorities has still not been able to show us what it can do. There has been a reduction in home thefts but this has occurred against the background of a rise in serious crimes, for example, daily murders. It was announced to those attending the meeting that, in order to combat crime, a coordinating center was to be set up that would include all the representatives of the republic's law enforcement organs. [passage omitted]

Estonia

NATO Asked To Help Dismantle Nuclear Reactors

OW2603132492 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1906 GMT 25 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Estonian Foreign Minister Lennart Meri sent a message to the NATO Secretary-General Manfred Woerner Tuesday [24 March] asking for help in dismantling and pulling out of Estonia two nuclear reactors located in the city of Paldiski. According to the Estonian Foreign Ministry press service, Meri referrs to a letter of the USSR Navy Commander-in-Chief Admiral Chernavin to former head of the Estonian government Edgar Savisaar. In this letter the Admiral argued that the dismantling of the reactors posed a very complex problem and that a special railroad branch should be built in order to take their parts out of Estonia.

Taking into account that Admiral Chernavin expressed interest in dismantling the reactors, NATO can obviously count on support of the CIS Armed Forces Command in resolving this issue, Meri's message says.

Premier Wants Free Trade With Russia

OW2603133492 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1806 GMT 25 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Prime Minister of Estonia Tiit Vahi has sent a letter to Russian Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar offering to sign a bilateral agreement on free trade. Vahi said this speaking before Estonian agricultural producers in Tallinn March 25.

Under such an agreement, Estonia and Russia could eliminate customs obstacles to mutually beneficial trade.

Estonia has already concluded such an agreement with Finland. Next week it is expected to sign an agreement with Sweden and then with E.C. Later this week an agreement on free trade with Norway will be initialed.

On March 26 the Baltics' premiers will discuss in Tallinn setting up a single customs zone allowing free trade among member countries.

British Bank Returns 4.8 Tons of Gold

OW2603225992 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1911 GMT 26 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Britain' s Ambassador to Estonia Brian Low and Estonian Deputy Foreign Minister Enn Lumets have exchanged notes under which the British Bank will return Estonia 4.8 tons of gold it has kept since 1940.

After the official ceremony the President of the Estonian Bank Sam Kallas informed newsmen the gold would remain in the vaults of the British Bank in London and would not be spent on Estonia's day-to-day needs. It would, instead, be regarded as Estonia's financial reserve and would guarantee the stability of the Estonian Krona. Sam Kallas said the gold was worth 50 to 60 million US dollars.

He said Britain laid no claim to property in the Estonian republic, although foreign property, including British, was nationalized in the republic after 1940.

The President of the Estonian Bank hoped Sweden would follow Britain's suit and return Estonian gold it had on its territory to the Estonian republic.

Constitutional Assembly Resumes Work

LD2703112692 Moscow TASS in English 0836 GMT 27 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Albert Maloveryan]

[Text] Tallinn March 27 TASS—The Estonian Constitutional Assembly resumed work here today to finalise before April 13 and submit to the parliament a new draft constitution of the Estonian Republic.

The assembly is a working body established on a parity basis and comprising 30 repeesentatives of the parliament and 30 representatives of the so-called Congress of Estonia, which set itself the task to protect the interests of the indigenous population of the republic in the parliament, and the Public Civil Forum favouring the restoration of the "pre-occupation" sovereign Estonia.

Under pressure from congress representatives provisions were incorporated in the draft constitution which evoked criticism on the part of parliament members. One instance is Article 56 under which all permanent residents in the republic who are not Estonian citizens may be deprived of any political, social and economic rights, that is become outlaws.

Another provision put forth by congress members, which is viewed as dubious by many deputies, is the restriction until the end of the year 2000 of civil rights of former high-ranking officials of the Communist Party and the Young Communist League apparat. These persons will be banned from civil service posts ranging from the republic's president to a board member of state joint stock society.

If proposals of this kind are enforced, Estonia risks turning into an ethnocratic state based on a radical nationalists doctrine. This is exactly what the Estonian Congress is driving at. At its session on March 22, it demanded that all citizens of the former Soviet Union who came to reside permanently in Estonia after 1940 be branded "illegal immigrants". The congress also demanded that the republican parliament hold a referendum on the draft constitution on May 3, 1992. Should the parliament fail to obey, congress members threatened to hold the referendum on their own and put to the vote the proposal to dismiss the parliament.